THE DWELLERS ON THE NILE

SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, KT.

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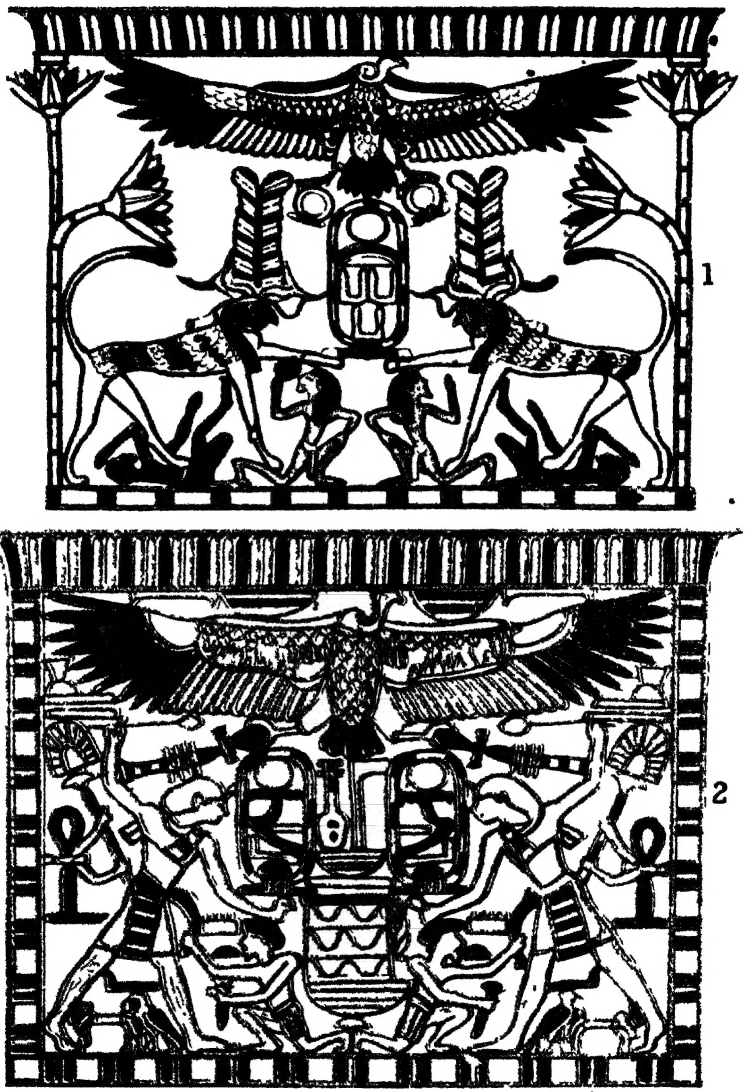

1. Gold plaque inlaid with coloured pastes representing Usertesen III in the form of hawk-headed lion trampling on his foes. XIIth Dynasty. In the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
2. Gold plaque inlaid with coloured pastes representing Amenemhat III slaughtering his enemies. XIIth Dynasty. In the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

THE DWELLERS ON THE NILE

CHAPTERS ON THE LIFE, HISTORY, RELIGION AND LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

BY

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LONDON
THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY
MANCHESTER, MADRID, LISBON, BUDAPEST
1919

Made in Great Britain
Printed by Harrison & Sons, Ltd., St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C. 2.

PREFACE

EARLY in the year 1885 the Rev. Dr. C. H. Irwin, General Editor of the Religious Tract Society, informed me that the Committee wished to keep on their List of Publications a little book entitled *The Dwellers on the Nile*, which I wrote for them so far back as 1885. The book, he said, had been well received by the public, and had been reprinted from stereotype plates several times. It would have been reprinted again had the plates been available, but unfortunately during the Great War the Government, being in need of lead, requisitioned them for military purposes and they were, together with those of the books of many other writers, melted down. The first idea of the officers of the Society was that the book might be revised before reprinting, and they brought with them the last available copy of the book, viz., the file copy, to discuss the matter with me. A glance at the Chapters in the book showed that no revision, however

drastic, would be satisfactory either to the Society or their readers, for the book was written when the long series of important excavations, which only became possible after an occupation of Egypt by the British in 1882–83, was about to begin.

During the forty and more years that have elapsed since I wrote the little book excavations have been carried on in many parts of both Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubia, the Egyptian Sūdān, and the Sinaitic Peninsula, by the accredited Agents of the Governments of Great Britain, America, Egypt, France, Germany, Italy and Russia, and by numerous Societies and private individuals. Besides these, the natives in many parts of Egypt who possessed local knowledge embarked on excavations of sites and tombs known to them, either clandestinely, or with the permission of the various Directors of the Service of Antiquities in Egypt. All these excavations have brought to light an enormous number of historical monuments and funerary antiquities, and the information derived from them through the exertions of scholars both in and out of Egypt has completely revolutionized the science of Egyptology in all its branches. The objects recovered from the cemeteries at Abydos and the sites in its neighbourhood, and from Nakādah and Gebelēn (Jabalēn), the date and historical value of which were first recognized by the late, alas! J. de Morgan, have revealed to us much of the civilization of the Egyptians towards the close of the Neolithic Period in Egypt, and supplied

much information about the kings of the earliest Dynasties. The results obtained from excavations in the Delta, in the pyramid-fields at Sakkārah, in the Fayyūm, in the Thebaïd, in Nubia and in the Egyptian Sudan, have made it possible to construct a nearly complete list of the kings of Egypt, to write with very considerable accuracy the history of Egypt, and to describe the foreign influences, both Asiatic and European, that transformed the rude and semi-savage aboriginal peoples of the Nile Valley into one of the greatest and most civilized nations of antiquity. The discovery, made by a peasant woman at Tall al-'Amārnah in 1888, of a hoard of clay and mud tablets inscribed in a Semitic language (two are written in the language of Mitani, at present unknown), has placed in our hands some hundreds of letters and dispatches which were sent by the kings of Babylonia, Mitani and Assyria and by the governors of cities and towns in the land of the Hittites, Syria and Palestine, to Amenhetep III and his son Amenhetep IV in the XVth century B.C. These illustrate the foreign relations of Egypt during the period when she might be correctly described as a military power and the mistress of the world, and from the historian's point of view their value and importance cannot be overestimated. The excavation of the tombs of all periods has also increased to a most remarkable degree our knowledge of the daily life, manners and customs, trade and commerce, and the religious beliefs of the Egyptians. The publication of the newly discovered texts,

both historical and funerary, with translations and commentaries, proceeded rapidly in England, France and Germany, and the information which became available as the result compelled the older Egyptologists to revise drastically their opinions on many important points of Egyptian chronology and history. The great pioneer of Egyptology, Samuel Birch, on reading Maspero's edition of the texts from the pyramids of Unas and Teta in the *Recueil de Travaux*, remarked sadly, "Ah! The new Egyptology can only be dealt with by strong young men."

Now all these facts were as well known to Dr. Irwin as to myself, and when I told him that *The Dwellers on the Nile* must be re-written and enlarged he cordially agreed, and the present volume is the result. It was impossible to deal even briefly with the difficult subjects of origin, race, language, chronology, etc., of the Ancient Egyptians in a small work of this kind, and it was therefore decided to concentrate on the daily life of the people, and to add only such fundamental facts as would enable the reader to understand the general character of their History, Religion and Literature. An attempt has been made in this book to describe the life of the Ancient Egyptians from, so to speak, their cradles to their graves. The Introduction contains a brief summary of the growth and development of the rule of the Dynastic kings over a unified Egypt, and a list of their names derived from the monuments. To assign exact dates to the kings who reigned before the XVIIIth Dynasty (about 1580–1350 B.C.) is at

present impossible, for the necessary facts are wanting; accurate dating is not possible until the end of the VIIIth century B.C. It is known now that scores of kings reigned independently in Lower Egypt, and presumably in Upper Egypt also, before the unification of the two Egypts under Nārmer or Āha, but the total length of their reigns cannot be even guessed at, and the predynastic monuments are silent on this point.

According to Manetho, who wrote a History of Egypt for Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the IIIrd century B.C., the first rulers of Egypt were Gods, who were followed by the Demi-gods and the Nekues or Spirits, and the total length of their reigns was 24,836 years. These figures (like those which state that ten kings reigned in Babylonia for 456,000 years) are of course fabulous, but they are useful as showing that Egyptian civilization was believed to be very, very old. From the time of Lepsius, who published his great work on Egyptian Chronology in 1848, Egyptologists have devoted much time and energy in trying to find out when the first dynastic king of Egypt ascended the throne. One after the other has formulated chronological systems, but no two of them agree, and the difference between the dates assigned to the beginning of dynastic rule in Egypt is sometimes as much as 2,500 years for Champollion-Figeac gives 5869 B.C. and Meyer 3315 B.C. Some scholars have tried to fix dates in Egyptian history by calculations based on astronomical data, and have assumed that the Egyptians were

acquainted with and used the Sothic Cycle, but these are not to be depended upon, for the Egyptians were as ignorant of the Sothic Cycle of 1,461 years as they were of the Phoenix Period. This has been well shown by Nicklin (*Classical Review*, vol. xiv, 1900, pp. 146–148); Legge (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xxxi, 1909, p. 106) and Torr (*Memphis and Mycenae*, 1896). The native Egyptian King Lists, as exemplified by the series of names found at Abydos, Karnak and Sakkārah, have been shown by the evidence of the monuments to be incomplete, and the fragmentary List found in the Turin Papyrus is only helpful in the case of certain Dynasties. Valuable information about the order of succession and acts of several of the kings of the Dynasties of the Old Kingdom has been supplied by the fragment of the stele now known as the "Palermo Stele," the chronological importance of which was first recognized by H. Schaefer, but it does not enable a complete scheme of Egyptian chronology to be formulated. Within the last few years various scholars have suggested restorations of the portions of the text that are lacking on the Stele, but none is satisfactory or convincing. For a discussion on the subject *see* Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie Babyloniens, Assyriens und Agyptens*, Stuttgart, 1885, pp. 40 ff. The cuneifo m inscriptions have helped greatly in fixing approximate dates for the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty (about 1580–1350 B.C.), but for no earlier period.

The Egyptians of the earliest dynasties dated their years by events, as did the Sumerians, and

dating by regnal years was not adopted until a much later period. If we had a complete list of kings and knew the length of the reign of each the construction of a correct chronological table would be comparatively easy; but such material does not exist, and the difficulties of Egyptian chronology are due chiefly to this fact. The earlier Egyptologists made lists of kings and then assigned to each an average length of reign, and in this way Lepsius found that the first dynastic King of Egypt began to reign about 3892 B.C., while Brugsch gave his date as 4400 B.C. It has been shown that the latter date is too early, and that the lengths, according to him, of the periods between the VIth and the XIIth and the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasties were too long. Taking the evidence available as a whole there seems to be no doubt that the first dynastic king of Egypt began to reign about the middle of the fourth millennium before Christ, or a little earlier. It is unnecessary to consider the period of the introduction of the Calendar, if there ever was one, for the agriculturists of Egypt never had any doubt when the seasons of the year began, and the annual Inundation of the Nile regulated the affairs of the whole country. It is probable that originally the Egyptians only recognized two seasons—Winter and Summer—though the copies of the Calendar extant mention three—Winter, Summer, and the period of Inundation—each containing four thirty-day months. The five additional days at the end of the year provided for irregularity in the coming of the Nile Flood.

The Calendar, which according to Brugsch and other Egyptologists began on July 19, was, it seems, an invention of the priestly class for the benefit of the business and commercial sections of the community, but was useless to the agriculturist.

The reader who is specially interested in Egyptology because of the light which it has thrown on many portions of the Bible narrative will probably think that some paragraphs dealing with the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and particularly with the **Exodus**, ought to have been found in this book. But these subjects cannot be treated adequately in a few paragraphs. The explanation of the Exodus is exceptionally difficult, and it must be said at once that in the present state of Egyptological knowledge no solution of the problem which it presents is possible. That an Exodus of Israelites from Egypt, whether they were traders or nomad shepherds, or both, took place is beyond doubt, though some regard the account of it given in the Bible narrative as a legend pure and simple which is full of many hopelessly irreconcilable statements. But even so there must be a definite historical fact underlying the legend, for no mere legend could affect so deeply the thoughts and belief and life of the Hebrew people for so many centuries. Josephus connected the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, and very probably he is right, but it is doubtful if the writer of the Book of Exodus knew anything about the triumph of Amasis I and the flight of the Hyksos from Egypt into

Palestine and Syria. The Exodus has been supposed to have taken place in the reigns of Thothmes III, of Amenhetep III and of Merenptah, and it has been stated definitely that the last-named was the Pharaoh who pursued the Israelites and was drowned in the Red Sea. Viewed as an ordinary event the Exodus would have been impossible under Thothmes III, who held Western Asia in the palm of his hand, or under Amenhetep III, but an exodus of Semites from Egypt in the early years of the reign of Merenptah was possible. It is true that this king boasts in his Triumph Inscription (dated in the fifth year of his reign) on the stele in Cairo that he had left Israel without seed and Syria a widow. But this remark can only apply to the Israelites who had been settled in Palestine for some time, and not to their kinsmen who for some reason or other were domiciled in or near the fertile district now called the Wādī Tūmīlāt in the Eastern Delta. The Book of Exodus tells us (i. 11) that the Israelites built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses, and were compelled to make bricks under the supervision of cruel taskmasters (i. 7–19). It is quite clear then that the Israelites had to serve in the *corvée* somewhere in the Delta, and there is no evidence whatever to show that they were condemned to forced labour in the copper mines at Wādī Maghārah or Sarābīt al-Khādim in the Peninsula of Sinai, as has been recently suggested. If the Israelites referred to were shepherds or men engaged in commerce in the towns of the Delta, they, being wholly unaccustomed to

perform manual labour, would find the work of the *corvée* unbearable. Whether Rameses II or another king was the "Pharaoh of the oppression" matters little, but it is manifest that the Israelites of any king's *corvée* would take the first opportunity of escaping from Egypt. Whether they did so in the reign of Merenptah or not cannot be said, but I cannot see that this king's boast of his destruction of the Israelites in Palestine makes an exodus of Israelites from the Delta on the death of Rameses II impossible. It does not follow that there was only one exodus of Semites from Egypt, in fact it is reasonable to suppose that during every period of anarchy, when neither life nor property was safe, such as could escape to a place of refuge would do so. There is no good reason for doubting that Israelites were dwelling in the Wādī Tūmīlāt, or Goshen, in the XIIIth or XIVth century B.C., or even earlier, and that owing to some conflict with the Government of the day, either about taxes or forced labour, they decided to flee into the desert, and did so. The remains of Pithom, one of the two עָרֵי־מִסְכְּנוֹת or "treasure cities," built by the Israelites for a Pharaoh, have been discovered by Naville, who has identified them with **Pa-Tem**, , or **Pa-Atem**, , the modern Tall al-Maskhūtah at the eastern end of the Wādī Tūmīlāt (*see* his *Store-city of Pithom*, London, 1885). Where the other was situated is unknown, unless it may be identified with the great city of Tanis (the Zoan of Psalm lxxviii, 12, 43, and

Isaiah xix, 11), which was rebuilt and beautified by Rameses II.

An interesting theory as to the date of the Exodus has been put forward by Prof. T. E. Peet in his *Egypt and the Old Testament*, London, 1922, who rejects utterly the theory of an Exodus under Merenptah, Rameses IInd's successor, who reigned about 1220 B.C., and thinks it not worth the trouble of defending. He bases his theory upon the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1 to the effect that Solomon began to build his Temple in the fourth year of his reign, 480 years after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt. He thinks that Solomon ascended the throne 970 B.C., and that the building of the Temple was begun 966 B.C. Adding 480 years to 966 years we get 1446 B.C. as the date of the Exodus. According to the now generally accepted chronology of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the year 1446 B.C. would fall within the reign of Amenhetep II, who began to reign about 1448 B.C. and reigned some 20 years. Thus Amenhetep II becomes the "Pharaoh of the Exodus." Prof. Peet is inclined to believe that the Israelites who went up out of Egypt were the people called "Khabiru" in the Tall al-'Amārnah Tablets, and that they formed a section of the invaders who were led into Palestine by Joshua. He thinks that "Khabiru" means "Hebrews" but others would translate it by "confederates" (*see* Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1915, vol. i, p. 47). All the theories described above are interesting, but it will be noted that no

Egyptologist is able to say exactly when the Exodus took place.

A substantial contribution to the literature of the Exodus has been made by the Rev. J. W. Jack in his *Date of the Exodus*, Edinburgh, 1925. In a series of fourteen chapters the author has discussed the question from almost every point of view, and he supports his statements for and against the theories advocated by various scholars with a large number of references to books and articles that illustrate the subject. The evidence of the Tall al-'Amārnah Tablets, Atenism, the Ḫabiru, the SA GAZ, and other highly controversial subjects are deftly handled, but only in very few cases is a definite conclusion arrived at which will be generally accepted as final by archaeologists. This is not Mr. Jack's fault; it is due to the lack of sufficient evidence for settling the question under discussion once and for all. The arguments in the book, for and against, are set forth with rigid fairness, and the writer's impartiality is so strict that the lay reader will find it difficult to decide for himself which opinion is the more probable, and which authority is the most likely to be right. Many of the statements made by older writers about the Date and Route of the Exodus were palpably absurd, even before the archaeological evidence that we now possess was available; most of these have been capably dealt with and consigned to the limbo of dead conjectures, but it is not possible to disprove all the old speculations. As a result of the "corroborations, correspondences and coincidences not found in other theories,"

Mr. Jack concludes that his own theory is the most likely one to be correct, and he agrees with Prof. Peet that the Exodus took place in the reign of Amenhetep II, and that the oppressor of the Israelites was not Rameses II, but Thothmes III. And he finds it difficult not to "compare" Queen Hatshepsut with the "Pharaoh's daughter" who took Moses from the little papyrus chest on the river in which his mother had laid him. Mr. Jack has rendered Biblical archaeology real service by showing that the date of the Exodus still remains unknown.

The question of the date of the Exodus is difficult enough, but that of the route taken by the Israelites from Goshen to Palestine is more difficult still. The earlier Egyptologists assumed that the Israelites made their way eastwards along the Wādī Tūmīlāt and, crossing some northern extension of the Red Sea, passed into the Peninsula of Sinai, and received the Law from Mount Sinai, which was thought to be situated in the Peninsula, where they wandered about for 40 years. It is, of course, possible that the Red Sea extended far northwards into the Isthmus in those days, perhaps as far as the northern end of Lake Timsāh, but the Hebrew text says nothing at all about the Red Sea. The Israelites crossed the **Yam Sūph** יַם־סוּף, *i.e.* the "sea of reeds" (rushes), and the identification of this swamp as the Red Sea is due entirely to the compilers of the Septuagint, who have thereby misled many commentators. Some modern Egyptologists reject the old

conservative opinions of their predecessors absolutely and take the view that the Israelites, who were anxious to get into Palestine as fast as possible, marched northwards from Goshen and on leaving the town of Rameses (Pelusium) followed the road, of immemorial antiquity, which ran from the north-east of the Delta and along the south side of Lake Serbonis, direct into Palestine and Syria. They discredit all the identifications of the holy places made by Antoninus Martyr and other Christian pilgrims of the IIIrd and IVth centuries, and would place the mountain from which God gave the Law to Moses somewhere near Mount Seir. They further point out that most of the places mentioned in the Old Testament narrative cannot be identified, and that such identifications of sites on the supposed route of the Exodus as have been made by Naville cannot be accepted. The arguments in favour of the view that the Israelites left Egypt by way of the Wādī Tūmīlāt and crossed one end of Lake Timsāh or the Bitter Lakes and proceeded to the Peninsula of Sinai are well set forth by Naville in his *Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London, 1903; *The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh and the Land of Goshen*, London, 1888; and *Archaeology of the Old Testament*, London, 1913. The arguments which are adduced to show that the Israelites followed the old highway from Egypt to Palestine are set forth by Gardiner in the *Jnl. of Eg. Archaeology*, London, 1918, vol. vi, pp. 99 ff., and are summarized by Peet (*op. cit.* pp. 105 ff.). But so long as we do not know what the original form

of the Story of the Exodus was, and cannot eliminate from the version that we have the obvious interpolations and omissions and mistakes of the editors and scribes, who lived many centuries after the events recorded in it, and so long as we know nothing of the physical condition of the Isthmus of Suez at the time when the Exodus took place, and of its geography, we are powerless to say which theory is right or wrong. No Pharaoh would instruct his court scribes to set down in writing an account of the manner in which the Israelites who had succeeded in escaping from one or other of his *corvées* left his country. Therefore it is futile to look to the Egyptologist for an "explanation" of the Exodus for, like the critic of the Hebrew text, he lacks the necessary information and evidence. And it must never be forgotten that the account of the Exodus given in the Bible is the story of a **miracle,** or rather a succession of **miracles,** which are beyond the experience of every-day life, and cannot be dealt with by the ordinary canons of criticism.

Whilst writing the last chapter in this book, that on the Egyptian Dead, it was suggested to me by a scholar of eminence that I should devote a section of it to a full description of the Egyptian tombs, and discuss in it the Pyramids of Gîzah, and especially the Great Pyramid, one of the most remarkable tombs in the world. He was anxious that the discoveries made by Messrs. D. Davidson and H. Aldersmith, and described in their joint work, *The Great Pyramid: its Divine Message*, London, 1924, should be

made known to all who are interested in the history of Egypt, and thought that a popular work like *The Dwellers on the Nile* would help to bring this about. Now the three pyramids of Gîzah have always appealed to the imagination of visitors to Egypt, many of whom have refused to believe that they were funerary buildings intended to cover the graves of the three great kings of the IVth Dynasty—Khufu, Khāfrā and Menkaurā—and thought and maintained that they had some other, but unknown, purpose. What this purpose was many thinkers have tried to find out. In the second half of the XVIIIth century of our Era, John Taylor published a book in which he stated that the Great Pyramid was built to convey to man a Divine Revelation, and that its unit of measure was the Polar Diameter inch. In 1864–65 Piazzi Smyth confirmed this view and said that the base circuit was a representation of the solar year. In 1865 Robert Menzies started the theory that the Passage System of the Great Pyramid was a chronological representation of prophecy, that the scale was one Polar Diameter to a solar year, and that the Great Gallery symbolized the Christian Dispensation. This Dispensation Col. J. Garnier, R.E., said (in 1905) started with the Crucifixion, placed by him in A.D. 31. Messrs. Davidson and Aldersmith have taken the matter up, and they think that :—

(1) The Great Pyramid is a geometrical representation of the mathematical basis of the science of a former civilization.

(2) This civilization, which was the source

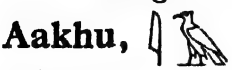
of all subsequent civilizations, reduced its knowledge of natural law into a single general formula, the application of which was analogous to the modern application of Einstein's Theory of Relativity. This application left its impress on every form of constructional expression.

(3) The Passage System is a graphical representation of a system of prophetical chronology, intimately related to Biblical prophecy.

To the explanation of these and other conclusions the learned authors devote about 556 pages of text, illustrated by a series of plans, diagrams, tables, calculations, etc., of a highly technical character. The subjects discussed by them in their marvellously erudite work, *e.g.* prophetical chronology, datings for events of the Christian Dispensation, such as the Great War of 1914–18, are not usually studied by Egyptologists, and I doubt if any one of them, however sympathetically inclined he may be to such matters, is capable of criticizing effectively the results of the researches of Messrs. Davidson and Aldersmith. But whether this be so or not there is no doubt that such highly controversial subjects ought not to be introduced into an elementary work on Egyptian Archaeology such as mine.

In connection with the chapter on the Egyptian Dead another point must be mentioned. The excavation of the dynastic tombs of all kinds in Egypt has shown that the Egyptians took endless trouble in the burying of their dead, and that they tried to hide their bodies in places

where they hoped or believed they would never be disturbed. We know that the bodies of kings, nobles, officials and men of rank and position were mummified and swathed in bandages, and laid in triple coffins, each of which had its cover fastened on it by means of dowels driven through flat pieces of wood fixed in slots cut in both coffin and cover. The coffins were placed in sarcophagi of stone or wood with massive covers fastened to them, and these were lowered down shafts from 20 to 90 feet deep, and laid in chambers which were entered from the bottom of the shafts. The chambers were walled up and the shafts filled up with stones, sand and earth, and it is only the excavator who really knows how difficult it is to obtain access to the bodies of the dead in well-constructed Egyptian tombs. It has always been assumed that the Egyptians expended such time and thought on the burial of their dead because they loved and revered them, and many English writers have denounced the excavator for disturbing the dead in their last sleep and destroying the "houses of eternity" in which loving hands had placed them. But it is possible that the Egyptians did not take all this trouble in hiding their dead in what they deemed to be inaccessible places through love, but through **fear**, and there is good reason for believing that they did not want the dead to return to this earth. After the death of the body the various spiritual and mental parts of a man continued to live, and, as Osiris had given them immortality, it was feared that they might put on once again

their old material body, or take some other form, and come back to prey upon the living. The beings capable of doing this were called **Aakhu,**  , a word that may be rendered by "spirit-souls" or "ghosts," and some were benevolent and some malevolent. They lived upon the offerings made in their tombs or at their graves by the living, sharing them with their Kau, or "doubles," but it was believed that some of them came to earth and fed upon the lives of the living. The predynastic Egyptians, with the view of preventing any return on the part of "ghosts" to earth, dismembered their dead or burnt them (in places where fuel was to be had). Neither dismemberment nor burning destroyed the Aakhu, but it deprived it of its power to injure the living and of returning to its body and of assuming the form of a bird or reptile by which it might deceive men and do them harm. At a later period the head of the deceased was cut off and placed between his legs, and later still the hands and the feet were also cut off; it was thought that such mutilations would render the body unsuitable for the purpose of the Aakhu. Even so it was thought that the Aakhu might make use of magic to effect his purpose, and it is said in the Pyramid Texts (lines 181 and 629) that King Unas did so and was able to company with as many women as he pleased. The whole question of the Egyptian belief in the existence of **vampires** has been discussed with characteristic learning and abundant references to

original sources by Prof. A. Wiedemann in *Der Lebende "Leichnam" im Glauben der alten Agypter*, Elberfeld, 1917. According to him mummification of the body (after the removal of the heart and viscera), the bandaging of the same, the nailed anthropoid coffin and sarcophagus, the well-constructed tomb with its walled-up doorways, and shafts filled with stones and concealed entrance, were all intended to keep the deceased in his tomb and to prevent him from coming back among the living and working his will upon them. And Wiedemann has shown that the belief in immortality went hand in hand with the belief in the existence of the "living corpse" in the tomb.

I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to photograph the objects which are reproduced on some of the plates in this book. And my thanks are due to the Rev. Dr. C. H. Irwin for his unfailing courtesy and assistance, to Mr. H R. Brabrook for the care which he has taken in the production of this book, and to the staff of Harrison and Sons, the printers. The Bibliography will, I hope, be found useful to the beginner in Egyptology, and perhaps also to the reader who has made some progress in the study. For further information about monographs and papers on special branches of Egyptology the reader is referred to Miss Ida A. Pratt's invaluable work *Ancient Egypt: Sources of information in the New York Public Library*, New York, 1925. I have added a full Index to all the important names of persons, places and things mentioned herein. In the

transliteration of Egyptian and Arabic names and words I have not attempted to use diacritical marks over and under letters, *e.g.* ȧ, ḥ, ḫ, ḳ, ṣ, ś, š, ṯ, ṭ; but wherever possible the long vowels are marked.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Palaeolithic Age ends, 10,000 (?) B.C.
Late Neolithic Kingdom, 5000–4500 B.C.
Independent Kings in Upper and Lower Egypt, 4500–3860 or 3500 (?) B.C.

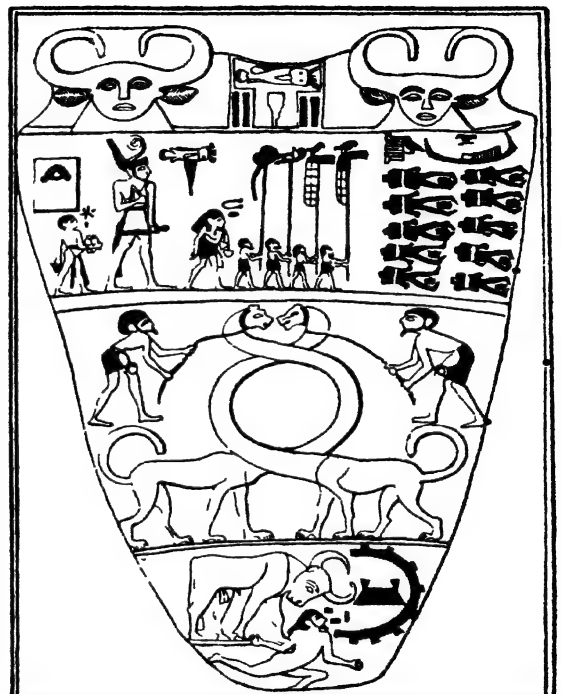
OLD KINGDOM

Ist Dynasty. Union of Upper and Lower Egypt under Nārmer and Aha Mena (Mēnes ?). Art of writing introduced, native pictographs being employed. Religious texts composed and chronological tablets compiled. Capitals, Tarkhan and Memphis. Raids in Peninsula of Sinai and in Libya. 3500 (?)–3350 (?) B.C.

The high state of Egyptian civilization under the early kings of the Ist Dynasty is well illustrated by the monuments which have been recovered from the tombs of Nārmer and Āha, either of whom may have been the **Mēnes of Manetho,** for each adopted " Men " or " Mena "

as one of his strong names. The sculptured green stone palette (?) of Nārmer in Cairo (there is a cast of it in the British Museum) proves that the workers in stone had brought their craft to a high pitch of perfection. The king's Horus name, Nārmer, , is given on each side of the palette (?) between two heads of Hathor, the Cow-goddess, who even in that early period was represented as a woman. On the **obverse** we see the king, wearing the crown of the South, , and a short tunic with belt and an animal's tail, about to smash in the head of a captive with a stone-headed mace . Behind him stands an attendant carrying the royal sandals, , in his left hand and a vase or pot in his right. In front of him is a hawk, *i.e.* Horus, holding a short chain or cord with a hook which is fixed in the nose of a bearded captive. From the body of the captive project six flower-like objects which have been considered to represent the number , 6,000, and to indicate the number of prisoners taken in a certain campaign. Under the king's feet are two dead enemies. On the **reverse** we see the king wearing the crown of the North, , and accompanied by his sandal-bearer. Before him is the officer Thet, , who is directing the carrying of four standards, two with hawks, one with a

Obverse.



Reverse.

Memorial Tablet of Nârmer Ist Dynasty.

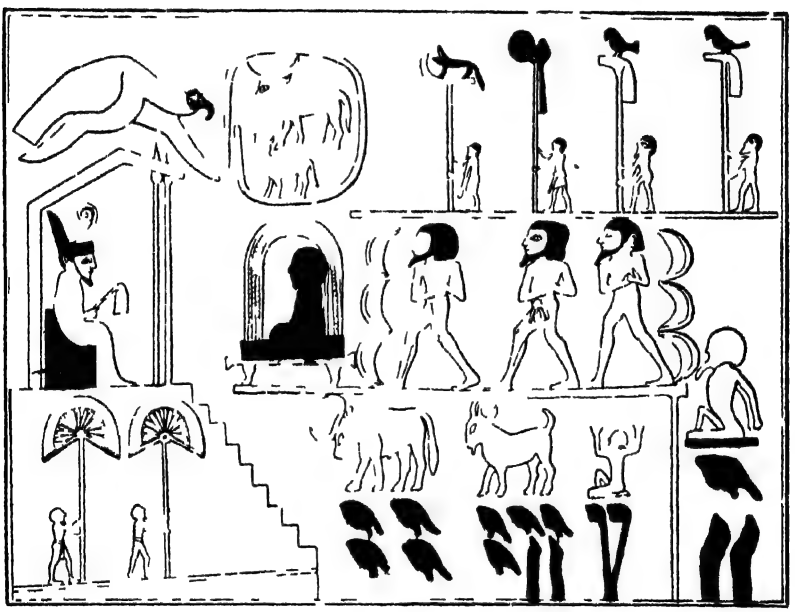
1. Nârmer slaying a captive with a stone-headed mace; beneath his feet are slain enemies. He took 6,000 prisoners in Ua.

2. Nârmer, with his officers bearing sacred emblems, inspecting decapitated enemies. The king, in the form of a bull, destroying a fortress.

jackal and one with an object which has not yet been identified with certainty. These men are conducting the king to inspect the bodies of decapitated captives, whose heads are placed between their legs. Below these are two fabulous long-necked lions (?) each with its attendant, who wears a loin-cloth, and below these is a bull, symbolic of the king, breaking into a strongly fortified building, either round, . or oval, , and trampling upon the body of one of its defenders. The scene of the king smashing the skull of a captive enemy was repeated on the monuments from this period, say 3500 B.C., to the time of the rule of the native kings and queens of Meroë, say about A.D. 200 The bull was the symbol of the king as well as the hawk, and the greatest kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty delighted to call themselves "Mighty Bull," , *Ka Nekht.* And it was the bellowings, , *hemhemt*, of the royal bull that were supposed to make the whole world quake.

The scene on p. 5 is taken from the great stone mace-head of Nārmer, which Mr. J. E. Quibell discovered at Hierakonpolis (see *Hierakonpolis*, London, 1900–02, two Parts). Here we see Nārmer seated like a god in a shrine, with sloping roof and pillars, one on each side of the open front; the king wears the crown of the North, and holds the whip, . The shrine rests on a platform with nine steps, which became the recognized support for the throne of the

"god who is on the top of the stairway," *i.e.* Osiris. By the side of the platform are two bearers of long-handled fans made of ostrich feathers. Above the shrine hovers the hawk of Horus. In the top register are a cow and a calf and the four standards already noticed. In the middle register, under a canopy resting



Scene from the great mace head of Narmer. The king seated in state, with his queen (?) facing him.

on a stretcher with short legs, is the "king's woman," or queen, and behind her are three men dancing a special dance, probably the "dance of the god," which was so greatly beloved by the kings of the Vth and VIth Dynasties. Below these is a summary of the spoil taken by Nārmer during his wars, namely "cows, 400,000,

, goats, one million, four hundred

and twenty-two thousand, , and captives, one hundred and twenty thousand, " The figures of men, birds and animals, are well shaped, and the workmanship leaves nothing to be desired Everything about this monument shows that the craftsmen who made it were not only skilled, but experienced.

Wooden tablet recording the celebrating of a festival by King Semti when he danced before his god Ist Dynasty The great events of each year were noted on a tablet of this kind and the history of the king's reign was compiled from such tablets

IInd Dynasty. Cult of Apis and Mnevis Bulls established. Rā and Set worshipped 3350 (?)–3190 (?) B.C.

IIIrd Dynasty. Wars in Libya. Memphis the capital. Step Pyramid of Sakkārah built. Iemhetep, architect and physician, and Kagemna the Wazīr flourish. 3190 (?)–3100 (?) B C

IVth Dynasty. Seneferu conquers Sinai, builds the Step Pyramid at Mēdūm and a true pyramid at Dahshūr, raids the Sūdān for slaves and gold, and establishes a fleet in the Mediterranean Sea. Pyramids of Gīzah built. 3100 (?)–2965 (?) B.C.

Vth Dynasty. Cult of Rā of Heliopolis established, and three of his high priests succeed each other as kings of Egypt; kings styled themselves "Son of Rā." Sun-temples built. Pyramids built at Abusīr and Sakkārah. Expeditions to Punt, quarries in the Wādī Hammāmāt worked. Tomb of Unas inscribed with religious hieroglyphic texts. 2965 (?)–2825 (?) B.C.

VIth Dynasty. Raids in the Peninsula of Sinai. Canal made in the First Cataract, and negotiations for trading purposes opened with the feudal lords of Elephantine (Syene, Aswān). Expeditions made to Punt, *i.e* the south-east Sūdān. Raids in Northern Nubia; "Blacks" serve in the Army. Generals Una and Herkhuf flourish. Pyramid tombs, with religious inscriptions, built at Sakkārah Pepi II reigns more than 90 years. Feudal chiefs assert their independence and the **Old Kingdom** ends. 2825 (?)–2631 (?) B.C.

The Old Kingdom practically ended with the downfall of the VIth Dynasty.

VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties. Period of anarchy. Descendants of the Memphite kings and upstarts claim the throne.

IXth and Xth Dynasties. Feudal lords of Henesu (Herakleopolis) attack the Memphites and proclaim themselves, with the help of the lords of Lykopolis (Asyūt), kings of Egypt. One of them, Khati, writes a book of Precepts for his son. Wars of the lords of Herakleopolis and Lykopolis against the lords of Thebes; the Thebans are victorious.

XIth Dynasty. Two kings called Antef are succeeded by four or five called Menthuhetep; one of the last-named builds a pyramid tomb and a funerary temple at Thebes.

MIDDLE KINGDOM

XIIth Dynasty. Many raids in Nubia; that country conquered so far south as the head of the Third Cataract. Raid in Syria. Canal re-made in the First Cataract, and one made to join the Nile and the Red Sea. Gold mines in the Eastern Desert worked, commerce with Punt, Syria and Mediterranean peoples developed, and Egypt becomes very rich. Systematic irrigation introduced and great reservoirs made in the Fayyūm. Pyramid tombs built at Lisht, Dahshūr, Allahūn and Hawārah. Labyrinth built. Great development of literature, the first Recension of the Theban **Book of the Dead** compiled. End of the **Middle Kingdom.** 2200 (?)–2000 (?) B C

XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties. Period of anarchy. Struggle between descendants of kings and usurpers in Upper and Lower Egypt; length of period uncertain.

THE HEQU SHASU, ,
OR HYKSOS

XVth and XVIth Dynasties. The Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, *i.e.* the nomad tribes of Palestine and Syria, supported by Hittites and others, invade Egypt with chariots and horses, and conquer the country and oppress the people.

They suffered defeat by the Thebans **(XVIIth Dynasty)** under Seqenenṯā III, who was slain in battle. Length of the rule of the Hyksos unknown.

NEW KINGDOM

XVIIIth Dynasty, ruling from Thebes. **Hyksos expelled** by Aāhmes I, and Palestine and Syria become provinces of Egypt; under Aāhmes, a truly military dictator, Egypt becomes a warlike power with horses and chariots and a large army. Wars in Libya and Syria; Nubia conquered as far as the foot of the Fourth Cataract. Wars in Western Asia, the country conquered as far north as the Upper Euphrates, Egyptian colonies made, and governors of all important towns and cities appointed by Pharaoh. Western Asia and the Sūdān pour tribute into Egypt, which becomes the richest country in the world. All trade routes seized by the Egyptians; trade with Punt, Arabia, Syria, Palestine and many islands in the Mediterranean quickly developed. Thothmes IV marries a princess of Mitani, and Amenhetep III marries several Mesopotamian princesses. Treaties made with kings of Babylon and Assyria. Great temples built at Abydos, Thebes, Sulb, and other places. Granite obelisks and the Colossi erected. Amenhetep IV confiscates the revenues of Amen, founds a capital at Tall al-'Amārnah, builds temples to Aten, the Solar Disk, alienates his people, fails to support Egyptian authority in Western Asia, which throws off the yoke of Egypt. Art and sculpture,

and the handicrafts, greatly developed, magnificent buildings and tombs constructed, display of vast wealth, and luxury universal. Egypt loses her Asiatic Empire. 1600–1350 (?) B.C.

XIXth Dynasty. Worship of Amen restored and his priests reinstated. Code of Laws compiled. Wars with Libyans and Nubians and the Hittites and their allies; Egyptians finally compelled to make a treaty with the Hittites. Gold mines of the Eastern Sūdān worked, the rock-hewn temples of Kalābshah and Abu Simbel made, the Hall of Columns at Karnak and other great buildings constructed. Splendid tombs on the plan of those of the XVIIIth Dynasty hewn in the hills in Western Thebes. **Israel,** Syrians and others reduced to captivity. Period of anarchy. 1321–1205 B.C.

XXth Dynasty. Wars with the Libyans and the "peoples of the sea," who were defeated on sea and land. Egypt ceases to be a military power and employs foreign mercenaries. Commerce greatly developed; the country prosperous and wealthy. Decay of Thebes. The priests of Amen usurp the royal power, and Herher one of them, seizes the throne. 1205–1100 B.C.

XXIst Dynasty. Priests of Amen ruling at Thebes, and Nesbanebtet and his descendants at Tanis in the Delta. The Libyans acquire great power in Egypt. 1100–947 B.C.

XXIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties, from Bubastis. Shashanq (Shishak) the Libyan seizes the [illegible] Raid in Palestine and Jerusalem [illegible] history of this period is not [illegible] (?) B.C.

. . . . Conquest of Egypt by Piānkhi the Nubian. 721–715 B.C.

XXIVth Dynasty, from Saïs. Bakenrenef slain by Shabaka the Nubian. 718–712 B.C.

XXVth Dynasty, from Napata in Nubia. The Nubians rule all Egypt. Esarhaddon invades Egypt, defeats Tirhākāh, takes Memphis, and appoints governors over the cities of the Delta. Rebellion in the Delta, which is quelled by Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, who retakes Memphis advances to Thebes, and plunders and destroys the city, appoints a new set of governors and returns to Nineveh; Tirhākāh and Tanutamen escape his vengeance. 715–650 B.C.

XXVIth Dynasty, from Saïs. Egypt prosperous. Necho invades Palestine, defeats Josiah and is defeated by Nebuchadnezzar II. Raids in Nubia and on the Syrian coast. Alliance with the Greeks, who enter Egypt in large numbers. Naucratis founded in the Western Delta. Increased prosperity and great development of trade. Egyptians make an alliance with the Greeks against the Persians. 663–525 B.C.

XXVIIth Dynasty, from Persia. The **Persians** under Cambyses conquer Egypt, 525 B.C. Temple of Amen in the Oasis of Khārgah built, a school for priests established at Saïs, and stamped coinage introduced. Revolt of Khabash.

XXVIIIth Dynasty, from Saïs. Of the acts of its one king, Amyrteos, nothing is known.

XXIXth Dynasty. Three kings, who reigned in all about 20 years.

XXXth Dynasty, from Sebennytus. Renewed prosperity in Egypt. Temple to Horus built at Behbīt al-Hajārah, and many temples repaired, *e.g.* Abydos, Edfū and Karnak. Constant fighting between the Egyptians and Persians, but at length the latter were victorious. Large temple built at Philae.

XXXIst Dynasty, from Persia. Second period of Persian rule lasted from 359–331 B.C.

332 B.C. Alexander the Great becomes king of Egypt.

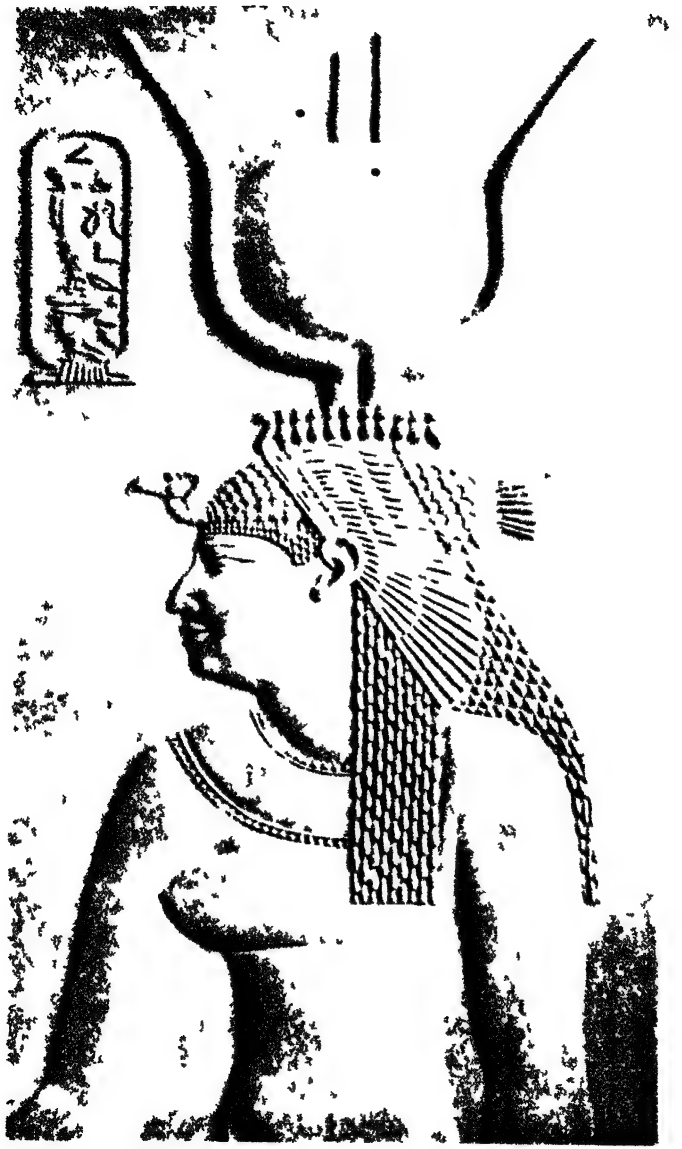
323 B.C. Death of Alexander the Great. Ptolemy Lagus administers the kingdom on behalf of Arrhidaeus, son of Philip II of Macedon, and Alexander II (died 311 B.C.), son of Alexander the Great.

305 B.C. Ptolemy Lagus.

305–30 B.C. Ptolemies I–XVI rule Egypt.

30 B.C. Egypt becomes a province of the Roman Empire.

PLATE I



K L E U P A T P A

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL KINGS OF EGYPT WHOSE NAMES HAVE BEEN RECOVERED FROM THE MONUMENTS

Predynastic Kings of

Upper Egypt

Seka
Tau
Thesh
Uatchnar
Mekha

} From the Stele of Palermo

Lower Egypt

Ro or Ru
Ap, the "Scorpion"

Dynastic Kings

Ist Dynasty

Nārmer Men
Nārmerza (?)
Āha Mena Nārmer or Āha was the Mênes of Manetho
Tcher (or Khent)
Tche (or Atche), the "Serpent"
Ten (or Den) Semti (or Khasti)
Merpeba Āntch-ab
Smerkhat Nekhti
Sen (or Qebh)

IInd Dynasty

Hetep or Hetep-Sekhemui
Rāneb or Kakau
Baenneter or Banetru

IInd Dynasty—*contd.*

Sekhemab
Perenmaāt
Perabsen

} the first two names are the King's Horus-names; the third is his Set-name

Senti
Neferkarā
Neferkaseker
Hutchefa (?)

IIIrd Dynasty

Khāsekhem
Khāsekhemui

} Horus-names of Besh

Besh
Tcheser
Sanekht
Tcheserteta
Neferka[rā]
Huni (?)
Seneferu (perhaps first king of the IVth Dynasty)

IVth Dynasty

Sharu
Khufu (Cheops)
Tetefrā
Khāfrā (Chephren)
Menkaurā (Mycerinus)
Shepseskaf

Vth Dynasty

Userkaf
Sahurā
Neferarikarā Kakau
Neferefrā Shepseskarā
Khāneferrā
Enuserrā An
Menkauher
Tetkarā Assa
Unas

VIth Dynasty

Teta
Userkarā Ati
Merirā Pepi I
Merenrā Mehtiemsaf I
Neferkarā Pepi II
Merenrā Mehtiemsaf II
Neterkarā
Menkarā (Nitòcris)

VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties

[From King Lists and the Turin Papyrus]

Neferka
Neferseh . . .
Ab
Neferkaurā
Khatti
Neferkarā
Neferkarā Nebi
Tetkarā Maatua (?)

VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties —*contd.*

Neferkarā Khentu
Merenher
Seneferkarā
Enkarā
Neferkarā Terrl
Neferkaher
Neferkarā Pepi-senb
Seneferkarā Annu
Menkaurā
Neferkaurā
Neferkauher

IXth and Xth Dynasties

Abmerirā Khati I
Uahkarā Khati II
Kamerirā

XIth Dynasty

Antef or
Antefā
Uahānkh Antefā I
Nekhtnebtepnefer Antefā II
Sānkhabtaui Menthuhetep I
Nebheprā Menthuhetep II
Nebtauirā Menthuhetep III (?)
Sānkhkarā Menthuhetep IV (?)

XIIth Dynasty, 2500 B.C. or 2200 B.C.

Sehetepabrā Amenemhat I
Kheperkarā Usertsen (or Sen-Usrit) I
Nubkaurā Amenemhat II
Khākheperrā Usertsen (or Sen-Usrit) II

XIIth Dynasty—*contd.*

Khākaurā Usertsen (or Sen-Usrit) III
Enmaātrā Amenemhat III
Maātkherurā AmenemhatIV
Auabrā Her
Sebekneferurā
Seneferabrā Sen-Usrit IV

XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties (reigned simultaneously)

Khutauirā Ugafa (?)
Sānkhtaui Sekhemkarā (?)
Aufni
Sānkhabrā Ameni Antef Amenemhat
Sekhemkhutauirā Sebekhetep I
Semenkhkarā Mermashāu
Sekhemsuatchtauirā Sebekhetep II
Khāsesheshrā Neferhetep
Khāneferrā Sebekhetep III
Khāheteprā Sebekhetep IV
Khāānkhrā Sebekhetep V
Uahabrā Āaab
Merneferrā Ana
Merneferrā Ai
Nebmaātrā Aba
Nehsirā
Menkhāurā Ānab
Sekhemuatchkhāurā Sebekemsaf
Sekhemseshettauirā Sebekemsauf
Enmaātrāenkhā Khentcher
Sekhemneferkhāu Upuatemsaf
Seshesh(?)rāherherimaāt Antefā III

XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties —*contd.*

Seshesheshrāupmaāt Antefā IV
Nubkheperrā Antefā V
Sekhemuahkhāurā Heteprā
[and about 60 others; order of succession very doubtful]

XVth and XVIth Dynasties

Semqen
Ānther or Ānthel
Meruserrā Igebārh
Khāmurā
Khāuserrā
Āaheteprā
Maāabrā
Āasehrā
Āapehtirā Nubti
Seuserenrā Khian
Nebtkhepeshrā Apepa I
Āauserrā Apepa II
Āaqenenrā Apepa III
[order of succession doubtful]

XVIIth Dynasty

Seqenenrā I Tauā
Seqenenrā II Tauāā
Seqenenrā III Tauāqen
Uatchkheperrā Kames
Senekhtenrā

XVIIIth Dynasty

Nebpehtirā Aāhmes I
Tcheserkarā Amenhetep I
Aakheperkarā Tehutimes, or Tchehutimes (Thothmes) I
Āakheperenrā Tehutimes II
[Queen] Maātkarā Hatshepsut

XVIIIth Dynasty—*cont'd.*

Menkheperrā Tehutimes III
Āakheperurā Amenhetep II
Menkheperurā Tehutimes IV
Nebmaātrā Amenhetep III
Neferkheperurāuāenrā Aten meri Amenhetep IV or Aakhuenaten
Sākarā
Kheperunebrā Tutānkhaten
Tutānkhamen
Kheperkheperurāārimaāt Ai
Tcheserkheperurā Heremheb

XIXth Dynasty

Menpehtirā Rāmeses I
Menmaātrā Seti I
Usermaātrāsetepenrā Rameses II
(Khāmuast, co-regent)
Merenptah I Hetephermāt
Menmarāsetepenrā Amenmeses
Merenptah II Saptah
Seti II Merenptah III

XXth Dynasty

Arsu (?) a Syrian
Userkhāurāsetepenrā Setnekht
Usermaātrā Rameses III
Heqmaātrā Rameses IV
Sekheperenrā Rameses V
Nebmaātrā Rameses VI
Usermaātrā Rameses VII
Usermaātrāaakhuenamen Rameses VIII
Sekhāenrā Rameses IX

XXth Dynasty—*contd.*

Neferkarā Rameses X
Khepermaātrā Rameses XI
Menmaātrā Rameses XII (?)

XXIst Dynasty

Kings ruling in the Delta :—
Nesbanebtet
Pisebkhānu I
Amenemapt
Saamen
Her Pisebkhānu

Priest-kings ruling at Thebes :—
Herher, high priest of Amen
Piānkhi
Pinetchem I
Menkheperrā
Pinetchem II
Pisebkhānu II

XXIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties

At Bubastis

Shashanq (Shishak) I
Usarken I
Teklet I
Usarken II
Shashanq II
Auput
Shashanq III
Pimai
Shashanq IV

At Thebes (?)

Hersaast
Petabast
Teklet II
Usarken III

XXIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties—*contd.*

Teklet III
Kutamen
Usarken IV
[The order of succession is doubtful]

XXIVth Dynasty

Tafnekht
Bakenrenef

XXVth Dynasty

Piānkhi meri Amen
Neferkarā Shabaka
Tetkhāurā Shabataka
Aakhu Nefer-Tem-Rā Taharqa (Tirhākāh)
Bakarā Tanutamen

XXVIth Dynasty

Uahabrā Psemthek I
Uhemabiā Nekau (Necho)
Neterabiā Psemthek II
Hāāabiā Uahabiā (Hophra)
Khnemabrī Aāhmes II (Amasis)
Ānkhkaenrā Psemthek III

XXVIIth Dynasty

Mesutrā Kembathet (Cambyses)

XXVIIth Dynasty—*contd.*

Setutiā Anthriush (Darius)
Senemenptah Setepentanen Khabbasha
Artakhshashs (Artaxerxes)
Userkhepeshmeri Anthriusha (Darius)

XXVIIIth Dynasty

[Wanting]

XXIXth Dynasty

Baenrā Nafāaurut
Khnemmaātrā Hagr
Userptah Setepenrā Psamut

XXXth Dynasty

Senetchemabiā Nekhtherhebit
Arimaātenrā Tchehcr
Khepcrkarā Nekhtnebef

XXXIst Dynasty

Ochus
Arses
Darius III

Macedonians

Alexander the Great
Philip Arrhidaeus
Alexander II

THE CRY OF THE OPPRESSED IN EGYPT

Work, my brother, rest is nigh—
Pharaoh lives for ever!
Beast and bird of earth and sky,
Things that creep and things that fly—
All must labour, all must die;
But Pharaoh lives for ever!

Work, my brother, while 'tis day—
Pharaoh lives for ever!
Rivers waste and wane away,
Marble crumbles down like clay,
Nations dwindle to decay;
But Pharaoh lives for ever!

Work– it is thy mortal doom—
Pharaoh lives for ever!
Shadows passing through the gloom,
Age to age gives place and room,
Kings go down into the tomb;
But Pharaoh lives for ever!

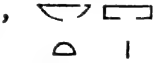
Whyte-Melville, *Sarchedon*, London, 1871, p. 175.

CHAPTER I

THE MOTHER, THE FAMILY, THE HOME AND THE SCHOOL

THE Egyptian was in all periods of his history a lover of his home and family, and the relations between parents and their children were usually of the most affectionate character. His world was the village where his home was, and his kinsfolk were the only inhabitants of it that counted in his sight. He regarded sojourning in a strange village or town as exile and, if it had for any reason to be prolonged, as banishment. The same feeling existed in Egypt until a very few years ago, and when young men were drafted into Cairo from Upper Egypt and the Delta to serve in the army it was no uncommon thing to see a recruit weeping bitterly and cursing the fate that had torn him from his *balad*, or village, and his father's "house," *i.e.* his mother and his near

relations. Naturally these strong, hefty young men hated the duties and restraints of military service, but the sting that brought the tears to their eyes was the enforced separation from their homes and families, and the absence of daily intercourse with them which it entailed. The Egyptian loved his home more than his country, and service in any part of it outside his village or town was, and still is, an abomination to him.

The master of the house, *i.e.* the father and bread-winner, was the most important person in it from one point of view, but his wife, whether she was his "sister," or his "woman," or "the lady of the house,"  , who bore him children and brought them up was almost more important, for she provided for the continuance of his family and preserved his name among the living, and safeguarded his property. In Egypt and in many other parts of Africa the mother was regarded as the predominant partner in the house, and though a man might honour his father's name, it was the name of his mother that he was proud to mention. And after that the name of his mother's father, rather than that of his father's father, was the name to be commemorated. On a large number of the funerary stelae preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and in the British Museum the name of the mother of the deceased person is given, but no mention is made of the name of his father. The wise and prudent mother in ancient Egypt ruled from inside her house, and her influence was very great, and the more

attention she gave to the well-being of her husband and the management of his property and his children, the greater was her power. It has often been said that the Egyptians, like other Orientals, regarded women as their inferiors and as playthings, but everyone who has read Oriental history, or who knows the East even as it is to-day, is well aware that whenever the wise mothers of families in a village or town have decided collectively that an order of the local council in respect of their homes and families is or is not to be carried out, they usually have their way. Egyptian women, however well educated, never went about in public as Western women do, or made public speeches on any subject, for such a course of action was contrary to the public opinion, not only of the men but of the women. There is no reason to doubt that women in Egypt held property in their own names and had money invested in businesses, especially under the New Kingdom, and we know that some learned to read and write the Egyptian language correctly, and some became expert scribes. Princess Nesitanebtashru (about 1000 B.C.) wrote her own copy of the Book of the Dead, and about A.D. 1000 a woman copied the fine Zouche manuscript containing the Encomiums on Saint Michael the Archangel, which is now in the British Museum.

To found a family and establish a house was held to be the duty of every right-minded man, and the first step towards its fulfilment was **marriage.** The scribe Ani wrote: "Marry a

wife whilst thou art a young man" (or, perhaps, "marry a wife who is a young woman") "and she will give thee thy son. If thou begettest a son whilst thou art young, thou wilt be able to train him to become a proper man. It is good for a man to have a numerous progeny, for he will be applauded by reason of his children." How a marriage was "arranged" or brought about in the early period is not known, but we are justified in assuming that the method employed was the same then as it is now. The father, or rather mother, who had a son about 15 years of age looked about among the neighbours for a maiden about 12 years old, and when one suitable for a daughter-in-law had been found, an intermediary probably was employed to carry on negotiations. After the maiden's beauty had been described in glowing terms to the father of the youth, and the youth's manly attributes and physical attractions had been enumerated to the maiden's father, the intermediary, who knew the circumstances of both fathers, brought them together and assisted them to settle what and how much the maiden's father was to receive in exchange for his daughter. In early times the price of the maiden was arranged by word of mouth, and when an understanding had been arrived at the marriage took place without delay; but at a later period it seems that the marriage contract was drawn up by a scribe, or notary, as we should say, who took good care to safeguard the maiden's interests. In due course an evening was fixed for the wedding, and the bride was brought to

the bridegroom's house and handed over to the bridegroom. At the marriage festival and during the rejoicings that took place on the days following the marriage-night the friends and kinsfolk of the bride and bridegroom were entertained on a scale commensurate with the social position of the parents; animals were slaughtered and the poor were fed, and acrobatic performances and singing and dancing amused the guests. Whether any religious ceremony was performed to consecrate the marriage is not known, but it is not likely; nothing has yet been found that can be regarded as a Marriage Office.

Among well-to-do Egyptians young men often married their sisters, and the **sister-wife** is often mentioned on the inscriptions. In some cases such marriages were the result of affection pure and simple, but generally they came about through the desire, which was deep-seated in the mind of the Egyptians, to keep property in the family. The gods Osiris and Set married their sisters Isis and Nephthys respectively, and Osiris begat Horus by Isis and Set begat Anubis by Nephthys; therefore the marriages of brothers and sisters were sanctioned by the gods, and there is no doubt that they existed in the earliest times in Egypt. It is not certain that the sister-wife was in every case a real wife to her husband, but even if she was it did not prevent the man from marrying another woman if his sister-wife for any reason failed to give him a son. And it does not follow that the wife whom the Egyptian called "his sister," ,

sent-f, was really his sister, for the love-songs of the Egyptians prove that the lover often called the loved one "sister," using the word as the equivalent of the words "beloved," "dearest," and "darling" of modern Western peoples. The word used for the woman who was a real wife to a man and gave him children was , *hemt*, and there is no doubt that she was regarded as joint owner of her husband's property, and that she shared the control and disposal of it with him. As to the woman who is called the "lady of the house," we may assume that she held a position somewhat resembling that of the "housekeeper" in the establishment of a well-to-do man, and it is possible that she was also one of her master's wives. Many funerary stelae of women who held the position of "lady of the house" are known to us, and it is quite clear that these women were held to be as worthy of honourable burial as the women who had given their husbands many children. Kings and nobles undoubtedly kept large *harīms* and married many of the women who were kept secluded in them, but the inscriptions show that theoretically, at least, the king was a monogamist, and that he only bestowed the title of "King's chief woman" on one woman at a time. And certainly **monogamy** was the rule in Egypt; **polyandry** seems to have been unknown.

As among all African peoples, the love of children among the Egyptians was very great, and it was generally held that every man who could afford to keep a wife should marry, and that

every woman should give her husband offspring. **Virginity** and **celibacy** were not approved of by the Egyptians in their pagan state, though in some religious ceremonies the women performers were obliged to be virgins. Convents and nunneries were unknown in Egypt until after her people embraced Christianity. It is a remarkable fact that the founder of Christian asceticism, Anthony the Great, was a pure Egyptian. So convinced were the primitive Egyptians that every man, living or dead, should possess a wife and concubines that, on the death of a man of wealth and importance, several women were killed in order that their spirits might go to the Other World and minister to his wants there as their bodies had served him in this world. The bodies of some of the women who were murdered for this purpose at the death or burial of Amenhetep II, about 1448 B.C., may be seen lying on the ground near his sarcophagus, in his tomb at Thebes, to this day. When in the course of centuries funerary murders became too expensive or unpopular, the figure of a naked woman, made of wood or terra-cotta, or painted on wood or papyrus, was buried with the deceased, so that the spirit of the woman that would be evoked from it by the *heka*, or "word of power," might comfort him in the world beyond the grave. Sometimes the figure or model of the naked woman is represented as lying on a bed with a child by her side, the child symbolizing the offspring that the woman would bear to her husband in the Land of the Dead. Examples of such figures may be seen in the British Museum.

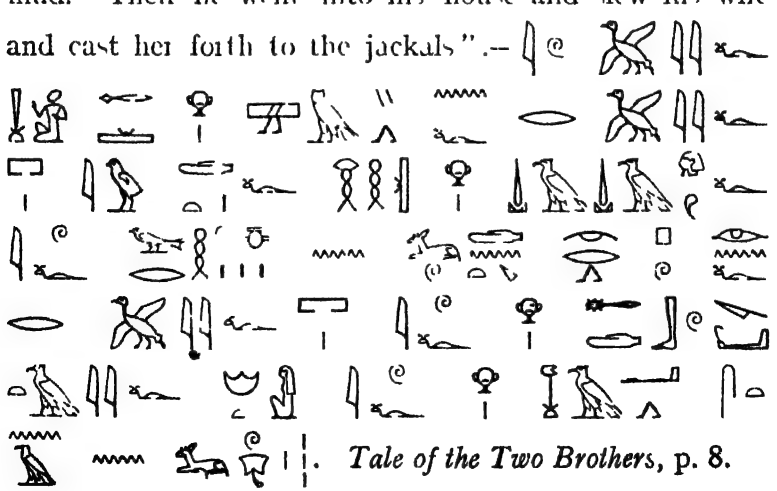
Now although **polygamy** existed in Egypt in all periods, the Egyptians well understood the moral and material advantages that accrued to the man who loved and honoured his wife and was faithful to her. Ptah-hetep the Sage said: "If thou wouldst be wise (or prosperous) stablish a house for thyself (*i.e.* get married). Love thou thy wife in the house wholly and rightly. Fill her belly and clothe her back; oil for anointing is the medicine for her limbs. Make her heart to rejoice as long as thou livest; she is a field profitable to her lord. Enter not into disputes with her. She will withdraw herself before violence. Make her to prosper permanently in thy house. If thou art hostile to her she will become like a ditch. . . ." And about 1,500 years later the scribe Ani said: "Attempt not to direct a married woman in her house, when thou knowest that she is an excellent housewife. Say not to her, 'Where is that thing? Bring it to me,' when she has set it in its proper place. Watch her with thine eye, and hold thy peace, and then thou wilt be able to appreciate her wise and prudent management. Happy wilt thou be if thou goest hand in hand with her! Many are the men who do not understand this. The man who interferes in his house only stirs up confusion in it, and never finds that he is the real master thereof in all matters."

And the sages were never tired of impressing upon men, both married and single, the folly and the danger incurred in running after the **strange woman** and the women in the houses of

neighbours. Ptah-hetep says: "If thou wishest to maintain a permanent friendship in the house to which thou art in the habit of going, whether as master, or whether as brother, or whether as friend, or in fact in any place to which thou hast the entry, strive against associating with the women there. The place which they frequent is not good [for thee]; but the imprudent man follows them. A thousand men have been destroyed by them in their quest of what is beautiful. A man is made a fool of by their dazzling limbs, which turn into things that are harder than quartzite sandstone. The pleasure lasts only for a brief moment, and it is even as a dream, and when it is ended a man finds death through having experienced it." And Ani the scribe says: "Guard thyself well against the strange woman who is not known in her quarter of the town. Cast not longing glances after her, as do those who are like unto her, and have no intercourse with her of any sort or kind whatsoever. She is a deep ditch, and where her currents will lead no man knows. When a woman whose husband is absent from her [reveals her] charms, and beckons thee to her every day, and says that there is none present to bear witness, and arranges her net to snare thee therein, it is a most abominable deed which merits the penalty of death for a man to hearken to her, even if she does not succeed in her object. . . Nevertheless men commit abominable deeds in order to gratify a passion of this kind." For the unfaithful husband Egyptian law had no penalty,

and the wronged wife presumably had no redress; but for the unfaithful wife the case was entirely different, and two instances are known in which she suffered the penalty of death. Under the Old Kingdom the guilty wife was burnt alive and her ashes were scattered, and under the New Kingdom Anpu killed his wife, cut up her body, and fed the dogs, or jackals, with the pieces.[1] In the first instance the paramour was thrown into the Nile and a crocodile devoured him.

A father claimed implicit obedience from his son, but the Egyptians thought a boy owed more to his mother than to his father, and it was, therefore, his duty not only to obey her but to love her and to give her constant proof of his devotion to her. The scribe Ani especially

[1] "His elder brother went to his house with his hand clasping the top of his head, and he smeared himself with mud. Then he went into his house and slew his wife and cast her forth to the jackals".—  . *Tale of the Two Brothers*, p. 8.

exhorts his son, Khensuhetep, to cherish his mother, and though his Book of Precepts belongs to a comparatively late period, his admonition on the subject of a son's duty to his mother so well illustrates the general feeling about it in ancient Egypt that the paragraph may be quoted in full. Ani says: "Multiply the bread-cakes which thou givest to thy mother, and carry her as she carried thee. When thou wast a heavy load she carried thee often, leaving me nothing to do for thee. When she had brought thee forth after thy months [were fulfilled], she set thee like a veritable yoke upon her neck, and her breasts were in thy mouth for three years. Though whilst thou wast a babe her task as nurse was loathsome she felt no disgust at thee, saying ['Consider] what I have to do.' And afterwards, when she had placed thee in the house of instruction (*i.e.* school), and whilst thou wast being taught [thy] letters, she [came] to thee there day by day, regularly and unfailingly, with bread-cakes and beer from her house. When thou art a young man, and dost marry a wife, and art the master and possessor of a house, I pray thee to consider thine own childhood, and how thou wast reared, and to do for the child that shall be born to thee everything that thy mother did for thee. Let it not happen that she (*i.e.* his mother) shall have cause to blame thee and give her not occasion to lift up her hands to God [in complaint], and let it not be necessary for Him to hear her supplications." Ani thought that God would hear a mother's complaint against an unkind or undutiful son, and would punish the offender.

The wife, whilst awaiting the birth of her child, wore amulets of various kinds to protect her and her unborn babe from the attacks of the evil spirits that were held to be hostile to expectant mothers, and recited incantations in order to obtain the help of the benevolent goddesses who presided over child-birth. Two of these goddesses were believed to dwell in a special kind of stone, and two tablets made of this stone were laid down on the spot where it was arranged that the birth of the child should take place. The Hebrew women also used such tablets, as we see from the passage in Exod. i. 16, where they are called הָאָבְנָיִם *hâobhnayim*, literally, "the two stone tablets." When the son of a king was born several of the old gods and goddesses were believed to come into the birth-chamber to protect the child, and among these were Heqt or Heqit, the Frog-goddess, Taurit, the Hippopotamus-goddess, and the very ancient god, Bes. Both Heqit and Taurit were goddesses of fertility and birth, and Bes was supposed to disarm by his jests and drolleries and laughter the less harmful of the evil spirits, and to attack with his sword and put to flight the demons who would injure the mother or her child.

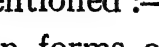
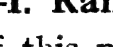
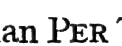
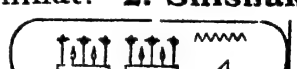
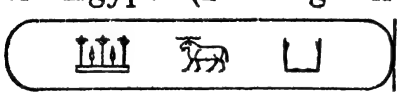
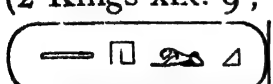
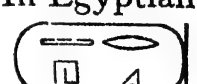
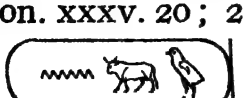
Women who belonged to the industrial classes and peasant women relied for protection upon the pictures or figures of these deities that were kept in their houses. The birth of a son was followed by great rejoicings in the house, and warm congratulations on the part of the neighbours; births of daughters, then as now, were

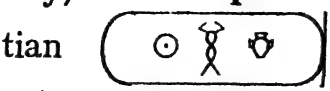
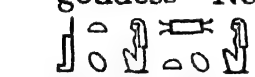
not specially welcomed. Usually the mother suckled her child and devoted herself to him, or her, for about three years; in rich men's houses nurses were often employed, and these frequently obtained great influence and power. Whether any ceremonial washing of the child took place after its birth, as was customary among many African tribes, is not known, and no religious ceremony seems to have accompanied the naming of the child The evidence of the inscriptions shows that the Egyptians in general did not cultivate pride of family and the perpetuation of family names, and the prominent man of each generation seems to have been content to proclaim his own exploits and merits, and to allow those of his ancestors to fall into oblivion. Only here and there is an instance found in the texts in which a man refers with pride to the generations of his ancestors, and the few genealogies of great officials and others known to us were compiled during the later period of Egyptian history.

In the use of formal names the Egyptians were somewhat careless, for some names were common to men and women, and a man might have two wives each having the same name, or two or three sons with the same name, or two or three daughters with the same name. In very early times names were short and simple, and **nicknames** and **diminutives** of them and pet names were common. The formal name of a man was called his "great name," and the name by which he was known in everyday life his "beautiful name," and besides these he might have a nickname; on the other hand it

is doubtful if people in the lower classes had formal names at all. A boy might be given the name of his grandfather or uncle because he was supposed to resemble him, and a girl was often called "Nefert" because she was pretty or good, or "Mausherau," "little cat," *i.e.* "Pussy," because of her wheedling and coaxing ways. A child who was supposed to be sent as a special favour to its parents by Rā or Ptah or Horus would be called Petarā, or Petaptah, or Petaher, *i.e.* "gift of Rā," "gift of Ptah," or "gift of Horus." Or he might be called the son of a god or goddess, *e.g.* Sa-Menthu, "son of Menthu," or Sa-Ast, "son of Isis," and so on. Some names indicated that their possessors were begotten by gods, *e.g.* Rāmessu, "Rā begot him." In many cases the names of gods and goddesses were given to children, and we find men called Horus, Khensu, Thoth, etc., and women called Isis, Hathor, Sekhmit, etc. The names bestowed upon children often had a definitely religious meaning, and signified the adherence of their possessors to the cults of the gods whose names they bore. Sometimes the great name of a man formed a complete sentence, *e.g.* Tchet-Ptah-auf-ānkh, "Ptah spake, he (*i.e.* the child) lived." Many names of this class somewhat resemble the names borne by some of Cromwell's soldiers. Religious Egyptians often made the name of some deity a part of their names, and loyal officials and others made the name of the reigning king a part of their names.

Among the names of Egyptian kings and persons referred to in the Bible may be

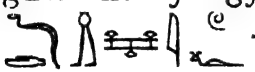
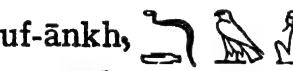
mentioned:—**1. Rameses.** The original Egyptian forms of this name are RĀ-MESES, or  (variants,  and), and RĀ-MESSU, or . This was the personal name of twelve kings of Egypt, and it indicated that the king was the "son of Rā," , and that it was Rā who had produced him. In Hebrew it appears as the name of a city in the Eastern Delta, רַעַמְסֵס, RA'AMSÊS (Exod. i. 11), built by Rameses II; this city was near Pithom = Egyptian PER TEM,  , the site of which is marked by the ruins of Tall al-Maskhūtah in the Wādī Tumīlāt. **2. Shishak** (1 Kings xi. 40). In Egyptian  , SHASHANQ (XXIInd Dynasty). **3. So,** king of Egypt (2 Kings xvii. 4). In Egyptian  , SHABAKA, the first king of the XXVth Dynasty. **4. Tirhāqāh** (2 Kings xix. 9; Isaiah xxxvii. 9). In Egyptian  , T-H-R-Q (variant  or , T-H-[illegible]-Q-A) **5. Necho** (2 Chron. xxxv. 20; 2 Kings xxiii. 29). In Egyptian  or , NEKAU

(XXVIth Dynasty). **6. Hophra** (Jer. xliv. 30). In Egyptian  , UAHABRĀ (XXVIth Dynasty). **7. Pharaoh.** In Egyptian , PER-Ā, *i.e.* the "Great House" [in which all Egyptians took asylum]. **8. Potipherah** (Gen. xli. 45). In Hebrew פּוֹטִי פֶרַע, PÓTI-PHĚRA'. In Egyptian , PA-TI-PA-RĀ, "The gift [of] the Rā" (*i.e.* of the Sun-god), or "He whom the Rā gave." Potipherah was the priest of On (Egyptian , ANU), whose daughter Joseph married. A shortened form of the name occurs in Gen. xxxvii. 36, where we have פּוֹטִיפַר, PÔṬÎPHAR. **9. Âsnath,** daughter of Potipherah, priest of On, who married Joseph This name seems to be undoubtedly Egyptian, and it is possible that it represents some name like , NESI-NET, "belonging to the goddess Neith." Others would make it =  , ISIS-NEITH. **10. Zaphnath-paaneah** (Gen. xli. 45). This name, which was given to Joseph by the Egyptians, appears in Hebrew as צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ, ṢOPHNATH-PA'NÊAKH, and probably represents the Egyptian

Tchet - pa - neter - af - ānkh
"Speaks the God he lives,"

or "the God spake [and] he came to life." If we omit the vowels from the Hebrew form of the name it will be seen that the consonants represent remarkably well the Egyptian words, thus :—

ענח פ נת פ צ

In rapid pronunciation the t of would not be heard, the sign is the determinative which would be placed after a man's name and would not be pronounced. Under the New Kingdom many Egyptian names had this form, *e.g.*  , Tchet-Anher-auf-ānkh, , Tchet-Khensu-auf-ānkh,  , Tchet-Her-auf-ānkh, etc.

From a religious point of view a man's name formed a very important part of his spiritual economy, and his very existence, certainly in the Other World, depended upon its preservation. To destroy the name was equivalent to destroying the person who bore it, and to mutilate and obliterate the name of the deceased from his tomb was to doom him to oblivion, both in this world and in the Kingdom of Osiris. In the inscriptions found in the tombs of the Middle Kingdom the visitor who "hates death and loves life" is entreated by the deceased to pray

that offerings "beautiful, sweet and pure" of all kinds may be given to the *ka* of the deceased, whose name is given at full length, for by so doing he would make the name of the deceased to live. Many statues from the tombs bear inscriptions which state that they have been placed there by the sons or wives of the deceased persons in order "to make their names to live." Pious sons not only repaired or restored the masonry of their fathers' tombs, but took care to recut the damaged inscriptions, both inside and outside. It was thought that a man might lose his memory in the Other World, and so forget his name, and a spell was included in the Book of the Dead (Chap. xxv) to prevent this happening to the deceased. In the Chapter of the Heart (xxx*b*) in the same work the deceased prays that "his name may not be made to stink" before the Tchatchau, or judges, in the Judgment Hall of Osiris; the nameless spirit could not be judged, and therefore could not enjoy everlasting life and its happiness in the Kingdom of Osiris. The early kings of Egypt thought more of preserving their names than of recording their exploits. The pyramids of the VIth Dynasty contain long prayers for the preservation of the names of the kings who built them, and in the Saïte and later periods of Egyptian history the scribes composed a special work (the recital of which on behalf of the deceased would ensure the preservation of his name), entitled "May my name flourish." Thothmes III cut out the name of Hatshepsut from her monuments with the view

of destroying her existence, and Amenhetep IV cut out the name of Amen and the word for "the gods" from the monuments, thinking that by so doing he would cause them to cease to be.

In Egypt the children of rich and poor alike **went about naked** during the earliest years of their existence. The children of the rich and well-to-do folk played with **balls** made of rags, **dolls** made of wood and rags, and figures of animals, birds, etc., with movable legs and heads; peasants' children played with each other and lay and rolled about in the dust near their fathers' houses, and threw balls of mud at each other, and made friends with the cows, and goats, and pigeons. Even when quite young they helped their elders to tend the cattle and drive them to the canals or water channels to drink, and to keep the goats from straying. The children of slaves were made to work at a very early age and large numbers of them must have died when quite young. When we consider the conditions under which the children of the peasant farmers and field labourers must have been born and reared especially in the Delta, it is impossible not to assume that **infant mortality** was very great. Those who survived their childhood were made to help their fathers and uncles in the labours of the field and to do as their forbears had done —that is, to collect the droppings of the animals for fuel, to tend cattle, dig irrigation channels and water the fields, clear out the canals, build up dykes, and serve in the *corvée* whenever

ordered to do so, under penalty of a beating. The life of people of this class was hard and laborious, their food was coarse and scanty, and their amusements few; magic and witchcraft flourished among them, and they passed their lives in constant dread of the attacks that the fiends and devils whom they believed to exist might make upon them. The above remarks really describe the conditions under which slaves of the field-labourer class lived in the days of Muhammad 'Alî and his immediate successors, but there is reason to think that they are equally applicable to the slaves of the kings and nobles in all periods of Egyptian history.

The children of the king were educated in the palace, and school-fellows and playmates were chosen for them from among the families of the official classes. There they learnt to read and to write and to copy and understand the meaning of the texts that were selected for them to study. Those among the people generally who wished their children to be educated sent them to one of the schools that were maintained out of the temple revenues and were directed by the priests. The king and nobles who possessed large estates were obliged to employ a number of educated youths and men to keep their accounts and manage their farms, and these studied arithmetic and land surveying and any and every subject of which a knowledge was necessary for the performance of their duties in a satisfactory manner. Such men were compelled to be expert scribes and to have

a good knowledge of practical farming and the market values of farming products. The prosperity of Egypt depended upon successful agriculture. The various priesthoods of Egypt also were large landowners and possessed much property, and they educated scribes in considerable numbers, not only to keep the accounts of their temples, but also to copy religious texts and keep registers of the offerings made to the gods, and to draft the inscriptions that were to be cut on the temples and painted in the tombs.

Boys were sent to school when they were about four years of age, and the period of their education lasted for ten or twelve years; there is no evidence that schools for girls existed, and it is not probable that they did. Whilst at school it seems that a boy was taught the subjects that would be most useful to him in the career that his father had decided he should follow, for the Egyptian father was eminently practical, and had little desire that his son should receive what may be described as a "general education." The value of the arts of reading and writing, and the knowledge of books, was generally recognized by all classes in Egypt, and especially by the merchant and artisan classes, who believed that there was no position to which the "learned scribe" might not attain in the country. The art of the scribe had a pecuniary value; it opened the way to lucrative employment in the service of the Government, it gave to the man who possessed it social standing, and raised him above the greater number of his fellow-countrymen

who earned their living by performing manual labours. Men in general never considered it as a key that would unlock the treasures of learning laid up in the papyrus rolls in the temples, and would enable them to acquire the wisdom and knowledge that the sages of Egypt had stored up. Though among the nations round about them the Egyptians were famed for their learning, there is no evidence that, as a nation, they loved learning for its own sake, or sought after knowledge because they loved it. A proof of this fact is supplied to us by the "Teaching" of one Tuauf as it is given in two papyri in the British Museum (Nos. 10182, 10222). Tuauf set out one day to take his son Pepi to school, and as they were sailing up the Nile to the place where the school was, he talked to his son and tried to show him the merits of the scribe's profession. Some of his remarks may be summarized thus:

I have considered hard work, and have concluded that books are the best things to study; I say, then, Give thy mind to books. In an ancient work it is written: "The scribe may attain to every position at Court; he need not go begging for employment there." The man who works for another never gains an independent position for himself. I have considered other trades and professions, and the same remark applies to them also. I would have thee love books as thou lovest thy mother, and I will set their beauties before thee. The profession of the scribe is the greatest of all professions; it has no equal upon earth. Even

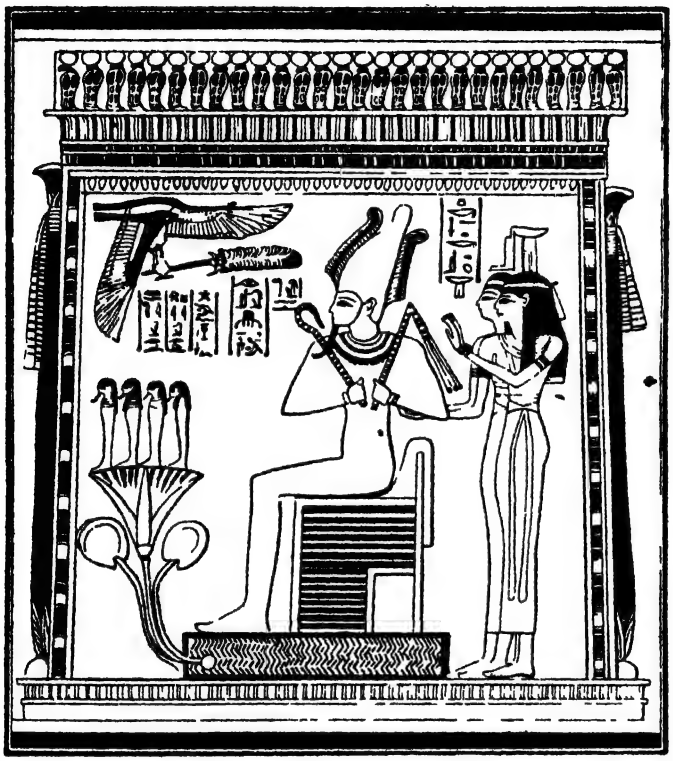
when the scribe is a beginner in his career his opinion is consulted. He is sent on missions of state and does not come back to place himself under the direction of another. Now take the worker in metals. Was a **smith** ever sent on a mission of state? The **coppersmith** has to work in front of his blazing furnace, his fingers are like the crocodile's legs, and he stinks more than the insides of fish. The **metal engraver** works like a ploughman. The **mason** is always overhauling blocks of stone, and in the evening he is tired out, his arms are weary, and the bones of his thighs and back feel as if they were coming asunder. The **barber** scours the town in search of customers; at the end of the day he is worn out, and he tortures his hands and arms to fill his belly. The **waterman** is stung to death by the gnats and mosquitoes (?), and the stench of the canals chokes him. The **ditcher** in the fields works among the cattle and the pigs, and must cook his food in the open; his garments are stiff with mud. The **builder of walls** is obliged to hang to them like a creeper; his garments are filled with mortar and dust, and are in rags. The **gardener** must work every day, and all he does is exhausting. His shoulders are bowed by the heavy loads he carries, and his neck and arms are distorted. He watches onions all the morning, and tends vines all the afternoon. The **farm labourer** never changes his garments, and his voice is like that of a corncrake. His hands, arms, and fingers are shrivelled and cracked, and he smells like a corpse. The **weaver** is worse off than a woman. His thighs

Egyptian Brickmakers and Brickmaking

1. Man waiting to be laden. 3, 6 Taskmasters 4 5. Men carrying bricks. 8, 14 Stacking the moulded bricks. 9. Digging the clay. 10. Man laden with prepared clay. 11 Mixing the clay. 15. Tank for water.

are drawn up to his body, and he cannot breathe. The day he fails to do his work he is dragged from the hut, like a lotus from the pool, and cast aside. To be allowed to see the daylight he must give the overseer his dinner. The **armourer** is ruined by his expenses. The **caravan man** goes in terror of lions and nomads whilst on his journey, and he returns to Egypt exhausted. The **reed-cutter's** fingers stink like a fishmonger: his eyes are dull and lifeless, and he works naked all the day long at cutting reeds. The **sandal-maker** spends his life in begging for work; his health is like that of a fish with a hook in its mouth. He gnaws strips of leather. The **washerman** spends his whole day in beating clothes. He is a neighbour of the crocodile, his whole body is filthy, and his food is mixed up with his garments. If he delays in finishing his work he is beaten. The lot of the **fowler** is hard, for though he wishes for a net God does not give him one. The **fisherman** has the worst trade of all, for he has to work in the river among the crocodiles, and there is nothing to warn him of the vicinity of a crocodile. His eyes are blinded by fear. There is no occupation than which a better cannot be found except the profession of the scribe, which is the best of all. Every toiler curses his trade or occupation, except the scribe, to whom no one says: "Go and work in the fields for So-and-so." I am sailing up the river to the Court, and I do it because of the love which I bear to thee. One day only spent in school is profitable for thee, and the work thou doest there will endure as long as the mountains.

Tuauf continues: I will now say a few other words to thee for thy instruction. Decide carefully what thou wilt do; he who acts hastily knows not what the result will be. Use



Osiris, the judge of the words and deeds of men. His throne is set above the water whence comes the Nile. The walls of his shrine are fire and the "living uraei" are above its cornice. Isis and Nephthys are behind him, and the four sons of Horus on a lotus before him.

not words of doubtful meaning, for they will react against thee. Utter not words of pride and arrogance, even to thyself. When thou art dismissed from school at midday, go not about singing and shouting, and trespass not in the houses round about. Deliver accurately the

message given thee to carry; add nothing thereto, omit nothing therefrom. And for the sake of the Great Chief (Osiris), speak not lies against thy mother; do nothing contrary to her wishes, even when thou art alone. If thou wilt control thy appetite thou wilt be listened to; if having eaten three loaves and drunk two pitchers of beer thy belly is not full, thou must fight against it. The scribe who hears is noted; he who hears (*i.e.* obeys) becomes a man of power. Dawdle not on thy way, spare not thyself. Keep on friendly terms with thy young schoolfellows. The goddesses Renenit and Meskhenit are with the scribe from his birth until he becomes chief of the Town Council, and they make him to prosper and flourish. His father and mother give praise to Rā; they have set him on the path of life. These are the things that I would set before thee and thy children's children..

Tuauf is thought to have composed his "Teaching" near the end of the Old Kingdom, but, as his work was made a text-book for schools under the New Kingdom two thousand years after, it is pretty clear that his views about the profession of the scribe were endorsed by the fathers of sons in the later period of its popularity. Tuauf cared nothing for the training of the mind which the study of books should give the student; all he wanted for his son was freedom from manual labour, a good social position, and remuneration for his work on a generous scale.

The **schoolmaster** probably received his pupils in his own house, and provided the

materials on which they learned to write hieroglyphs, and the rolls of papyrus from which they copied the passages selected by him for study. Whether he wrote out these passages in black ink upon thin slices of limestone, or upon whitened boards, as did the Copts, cannot be said. The pupils learned to draw hieroglyphs from lists prepared by him, and day by day they probably committed to memory, by frequent repetition, groups of words copied by him from a vocabulary in which the words were classified, as in a Coptic *Scala*. The *Scala*, or vocabulary, consists of a series of lists of objects, animate and inanimate, arranged in classes. Thus we have lists of names of countries and cities, lists of animals, birds, reptiles, trees, plants, minerals, parts of the body, etc., and it is probable that the early compilers of the *Scala* borrowed their system from their ancestors, the Egyptians. The schoolmaster's authority over his pupils was absolute. They came to his house in the early morning and worked until noon, when they were dismissed for the day. They sat literally at his feet, and it is quite clear from statements made in the papyri that their master frequently supplemented his oral instruction with corporal punishment. Sleepy and lazy boys often felt his rod on their backs, for he had no fear of being summoned for assault on their persons before the local magistrate. In one of the Anastasi papyri in the British Museum we read: "A boy has a back, and he listens (or obeys) when he is beaten." Schoolmasters argue that if horses and

lions and hawks can be made to learn and be trained to obey man, why not the boy and the youth? In addition to the education derived from books, boys were taught to be active and industrious, and the letters which great scribes wrote to their pupils contain many rebukes for laziness and many exhortations to work with all their might. The lazy were always threatened with a beating, and one sage pertinently remarks: "The ears of a boy are set on his back, and if you beat him he will listen." At some time during school hours the boys ate their three bread-cakes and drank their two jugs of beer; the boy who was not satisfied with these was held to be a gluttonous creature Unfortunately the inscriptions give no details of the system of instruction followed by a schoolmaster, and it is not known how he was paid or by whom the school was supported. The apparatus used by him in teaching was of a very simple character, and scarcely any school furniture was necessary. There may have been secondary schools attached to the temple, wherein clever youths were trained for special work, but this is uncertain.

The scribe's equipment consisted of **writing reeds**, a **palette**, a **water-pot**, and a **wrist-rest**, all of which are represented in the hieroglyph for scribe, . The palette was a long narrow strip of wood or piece of stone in which there were two shallow round hollows, one to hold black ink and the other red, and a groove in which the writing reeds were placed. These varied in length from 4 to 12 inches,

and were about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The water-pot was attached to the palette by a short cord, and both were fastened to the wrist-rest. The principal material used for writing upon was **papyrus,** but **leather** was also used, and drafts of important documents were written upon slices of fine white limestone and upon pieces of broken pots **(ostraka).** Papyrus was made by gumming together layers of strips cut from the stalk of the papyrus plant, which grew in abundance in the swamps and marshes of Egypt. The heads of the large variety of the plant which is found in the Sūdān were cooked and eaten by the natives. The strips were peeled off from the stalk and laid in a row, and their edges were fastened together by gum. Another layer of strips was laid horizontally across the first layer and fastened to it by gum; when pressed and trimmed the sheet of papyrus thus made was ready for use. The sheet could be made almost any length by attaching new strips from a plant at one end. The width of the largest sheet of papyrus known is about 20 inches, and the length of the longest roll about 133 feet.

The papyrus roll was called *tchamā*, .

The colour of papyrus varied in different periods from dark to light brown, but in the Ptolemaïc and later periods many papyri are light yellow or cream colour, and some are nearly white. Papyrus, as a writing material, plays a very important part in the history of Egyptian scripts. The pre-dynastic Egyptians used **pictographs** in their writing, just as did the Anzanites and

Sumerians. But whilst these people, who had nothing but clay to use as a writing material, finding that they could not easily draw figures of animals, circles, etc., on it, developed the cuneiform system of writing, in which the original forms of the pictographs disappeared, the Egyptians were able to draw their pictographs in ink easily on papyrus, and so preserved the use of hieroglyphs in writing until the Roman Period.

Papyri were preserved in the form of rolls, and the hieroglyph for "book," or , shows that the papyrus roll was kept in shape by a papyrus cord, later a strip of linen, which was tied in a knot and sometimes fastened by a clay seal. Important rolls were usually preserved in wooden boxes; the Papyrus of Nu and the Harris Papyrus No. 1 (both in the British Museum) were found in boxes, and both papyri and their boxes were sealed with clay seals bearing impressions made by inscribed scarabs. Business documents, letters, etc., were stored in earthenware pots, especially in the Graeco-Roman and Coptic Periods. The **black ink** used was in early times made of charcoal, water and a little gum, but in later days a mineral preparation, which made the ink "bite" into the papyrus, was added. It was found that characters written in the ink with gum in it often flaked off. The **red ink** and the various coloured paints that were used in the decoration of papyri were made of mineral substances; red ink was used chiefly in writing the titles and

"catch words" in literary compositions, and in making the red dots that mark the ends of the members of sentences. In the Book of the Dead the titles of the Chapters and many Rubrics and names of devils are written in red ink. Full descriptions of all the implements used by the Egyptian scribe will be found in the *Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms in the British Museum*, London, 1924.

CHAPTER II

THE EGYPTIAN HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE, FOOD AND DRINK, ETC.

THE earliest inhabitants of Egypt, long before the course of the Nile was fixed, and whilst the valley was full of swamps and marshes, sheltered themselves behind straight **screens** made of reeds tied together with vegetable fibre. Later it occurred to some of them that they would obtain more shelter if they bent the screen round so as to form a circle, leaving a space to serve as a door, and very soon they began to plaster the screen with mud, which served as a protection against wind and sun. A roof was formed by laying reeds and palm branches on the top of the circular screen, and little by little the **circular hut** was evolved. Long before the Dynastic Period of Egyptian history the Egyptians began to make their **huts** or **houses** of the mud deposited by the Nile. At first the walls were made by piling up the

mud in lumps, one on top of the other, but experience showed that such walls often fell in or fell out, because the lumps of mud contained nothing that would bind them together. Gradually the circular form of hut or house was abandoned, and men began to build houses rectangular in form. One of the oldest examples of this kind of mud house is preserved in the British Museum (No. 35505), and from this we see that in the Late Neolithic Period the Egyptians built houses with both **windows** and **doorways,** and with "battered" sides. The inclination of the walls inwards gave them greater stability. The doorposts, etc., were made of wood, and it seems that wooden doors were known. When the Egyptians began to make **bricks** is unknown. Some authorities think that the art of brick-making was introduced into Egypt from Mesopotamia, but there is no good reason why the Egyptians should not have found it out for themselves. The early Sumerian bricks (say 3000 B.C.) are plano-convex, but the oldest Egyptian bricks have not this form, and all of them are unbaked. In building the primitive house of unbaked bricks no mortar was used. The circular or square hut made of reeds and palm branches and mud contained only one room; the later mud-brick houses in which wood was used for doors and their frames, etc., probably contained two rooms or more. But from first to last the Egyptians generally lived in mud-brick houses, and everyone who has lived for any length of time in their country will admit that, provided the

walls are thick enough, mud-brick houses are preferable to those built according to European models. Gods as well as men lived in plaster-and-reed houses, even in the early Dynastic Period, and the form of the circular hut which served as a shrine for the god Menu is represented on stelae of the XVIIIth Dynasty. But the shrines of several of the gods were rectangular, and their shape and some of their characteristics are preserved in the granite shrines down to the Ptolemaïc Period. The early kings also dwelt in houses, or "palaces," made of mud bricks and decorated with stonework. The fact that Tcheser, a king of the IIIrd Dynasty, built a "house of stone" for himself was considered to be such a remarkable event by Manetho (a priest of Sebennytus in the IIIrd century B.C.) that he specially mentions it when speaking of Tcheser in his List of the Kings of Egypt. It may be noted in passing that Mr. C. J. Firth, of the Government Service of Antiquities of Egypt, found the remains of this house and its fluted stone columns in 1924. It is impossible to give details of the early Egyptian houses, for, being built of mud or mud bricks, they soon, owing to the annual Inundation of the Nile, cracked or fell down, and others were promptly built on their ruins. Under the New Kingdom stone and metal were freely used in the construction of the houses of well-to-do persons. The doors, which were sometimes single and sometimes double, were often set in stone frames, on which were cut the name of the owner and magical symbols, as at the

present day, and sometimes to these was added an inscription containing phrases of laudation of the god under whose protection the master of the house placed himself and his house. Rich men framed their doors in copper, and the frame-plates were often inscribed. A good example of **an inscribed house door** (belonging to Khensuhetep) is exhibited in the British Museum (No. 566). Doors were secured by **bolts,** made of wood or metal, and simple contrivances which served as **locks**; modernized forms of such contrivances can be seen in many outlying districts of Egypt and in Nubia and the Northern Sūdān at the present day.

Up to a comparatively late period, when a man of wealth was going to build a house, an animal (originally a man?) was sacrificed by him in order to obtain the good-will of the spirits of the earth, and, as figures of gods and amulets of various kinds have been dug up from the floors and out of the walls, we may assume that they were placed there to protect the fabric of the house from the attacks of evil spirits. From the large Vignette in the Papyrus of Nekht in the British Museum (No. 10471) we learn that the houses of well-to-do folk were provided with what are commonly called "wind-catchers," *i.e.* triangular wooden erections which were placed on the roof and were open to receive the cool wind from the north. These caught the wind and made it to blow down into the house; every purely Arab house has its **Malkaf,** which has the same form as its old Egyptian

equivalent. In some parts of Upper Egypt large houses may have been provided with **sardābs,** or underground chambers, to which the inmates withdrew for coolness during the heats of summer, but in Lower Egypt such chambers would be made uninhabitable through the infiltration of Nile water. In the Vignette mentioned above, the house is built on a platform in the form of the hieroglyph , *maāt,* which means "truth," and it has four rectangular windows placed high up in the wall, to prevent surface dust from blowing through them. Many large houses stood in a courtyard planted with vines and palms and other fruit-trees, and close by it was a small ornamental lake containing fish, and lotus and other water-plants. Such a garden formed a paradise for birds. Near by were the quarters of the servants or slaves, which consisted of a series of low mud huts, and the storehouses for grain and other articles of food.

The **granary** was strongly built and was usually rectangular in form; it was provided with a stout wooden door and massive bolts and other fastenings. Along one side of it was a series of bins, with shutters through which the grain was poured in or taken out; the name of the grain in each bin was sometimes written above the shutter. A stairway led up to the roof of the bins, which was perforated in several places, probably for the purpose of pouring in grain or for ventilating the grain below. In some houses a stairway led from the ground floor to an upper storey, and in

almost every house a stairway gave access to the roof, where at one corner there stood a small shed to which the master of the house might retire for rest and meditation in the cool of the evening. At a little distance from the house of the rich man were the **byres** for the cattle and the buildings in which the servants of the estate did their work and kept their tools and implements. Here, too, was the **threshing floor,** which was circular and resembled a shallow bowl. Every drop of water used in the house had to be brought from the river, and was stored in large porous jars either set in a row in the ground or on a wooden stand, and all sanitary arrangements were of a primitive character.

The mud on which the house stood formed the floor, and usually it was left in its natural state. The dust which worked up from it through the traffic over it was swept up and carried away, and water was sprinkled over the floor to prevent for a short time more dust from rising. Sometimes, as we see at Tall al-'Amārnah, the floor was decorated with **frescoes** representing aquatic landscapes with birds, animals, flowers, etc., but if they were trodden on by many feet the dust soon rose up as before. The walls of the rooms, and sometimes the roof, or as we should say, ceiling, were either washed over with a neutral-coloured wash or decorated with frescoes.

From time immemorial the Egyptians built along the walls outside their houses long low "**benches**" of mud bricks, the tops of which

were carefully plastered with mud, from 3 to 4 feet wide, and about 2 feet high; "benches" of this kind may be seen to-day in many parts of Egypt and the Sūdān, and the Arabs use them, as did the Egyptians, as beds or couches. Boys, youths, and some of the watchmen, slept on them, a bundle of their own garments serving for a pillow, and a reed mat as a mattress. Those who slept on them probably had no other covering than the cloaks which they wore by day, and, if we may judge by the habits of the modern Egyptians, their chief anxiety was to keep their heads covered. The master of the house and some of his family slept upon **bedsteads,** which closely resembled the *ankarīb* used by the modern Egyptians. The rectangular framework and the four legs, which were carved in the form of the legs of a lion, were made of stout pieces of wood and, when the wood used was ebony, were often inlaid with ivory. The framework was decorated with a lion's head at one end and a lion's tail at the other, but occasionally the head of a hippopotamus took the place of the lion's head. The bed of the early period, as well as the bier, was represented by the hieroglyph . The space between the framework was filled in either with wood or cordwork, as at the present day, and on this were laid simple reed mats or cushions. Men and women alike used a **pillow** or head-rest , which was often buried with them in their tombs. It "lifted up the head" of a man when living and the head of his mummy when dead. The pillow was sometimes made of limestone and was inscribed

with the name of its possessor in hieroglyphs inlaid with blue or green paste. Pillows of wood were frequently ornamented with ivory inlay, and on the rounded portions beautifully carved figures of the head of Bes are often found. The single upright support is often replaced by folding legs, the ends of which are carved to resemble the heads of geese. These brought to the sleeper the protection of the **goose,** which the Egyptians believed to be a good, ever-wakeful watcher that would warn the sleeper of danger. The Egyptians made amulets in the form of the pillow and buried them with their dead; on these was generally cut a version of Chap. clxvi of the Book of the Dead.

The mats or cushions that served as **mattresses** varied in thickness, and it seems that they were sometimes supplemented by what may be termed a padded quilt, like the *lihaf* which is found in Egypt to-day. The sleeper lay on one part of this and drew the other part over him to serve as bed-clothes. Good bedsteads stood high, and footstools were often needed to get on them. The well-to-do provided themselves, as Herodotus says (ii. 95), with network coverings under which to sleep, and these were the equivalents of the modern **mosquito nets.** These were, of course, unnecessary in hilly districts, but in places near the river and in the Delta at certain seasons of the year sleep would be impossible without them. Palladius tells the story of a certain ascetic who went to a marshy district in the Delta in order to

mortify the flesh through the bites of the gnats, *i.e.* mosquitoes, and when he had been there but a short time his skin became covered with lumps and was like the hide of the hippopotamus. The **chairs** had high, straight backs, decorated with inlaid work, and must have formed very uncomfortable resting-places ; the seats of some were so high that **footstools** or cushions were necessary for comfort. The seats were often made of wood, and for these cushions were provided ; the seat made of papyrus cords or leather was the most comfortable to sit upon. The **arm-chair** with a low back was well known and much used by people of good position. Chairs of State were elaborately carved, inlaid with ivory and ebony, and otherwise decorated, and those that served as thrones for kings were regarded with the same awe and reverence as is the king's stool among modern African peoples. Favourite chairs, stools, cushions, pillows, etc., were often buried in the tombs of their owners, as the collections of furniture from the tombs that are exhibited in the great museums in Europe and America testify.

The various kinds of tables used by modern nations were unknown to the Egyptians, and their one **table** was that from which they ate their food. It consisted of two parts : a round stand, about 12 inches high, with projecting ends, and a thick flat circular slab, which formed the table proper, on which the food was placed. The slab was often covered with a layer of pieces of palm branches, but sometimes the branches were stuck into holes in the slab and

stood upright, and so kept away flies. The dish or tray with the food was placed on the slab, and the family and the guests seated themselves round it on stools and took the food with their fingers. The **clothes** of the family were kept in wooden **chests** or in small crates made of thin strips of wood or the stems of palm branches; the former were divided into sections by wooden partitions, and some of them contained small wooden receptacles in which objects of special value could be placed. **Jewellery** was kept in little square or rectangular coffers, made generally of wood, and their sides and covers were inlaid with ivory, glass paste, plaques of blue and green Egyptian porcelain, etc. Under the Middle Kingdom, and probably earlier, an official, when travelling about on his duties, carried the necessary changes of apparel in small wicker-work cases like the modern suit-case. These were divided into sections, like those of a dressing-case, in which articles for the toilet, etc., were kept.

How the Egyptians warmed their houses is not known exactly; fireplaces in the modern sense of the word were unknown to them. In making **fire** they used a fire-drill, , which was similar in form to that which has been employed in Africa from time immemorial. The drill itself was a piece of very hard wood, around one end of which several ridges were cut; this was inserted in a hole made in a piece of soft dry wood, and made to revolve rapidly by the two hands between which it was placed being rubbed quickly each over the other, or by means

of a cord. A little inflammable material was placed in the hole in which the borer worked, and this soon burst into flame. There is reason to believe that the Egyptians knew how to strike fire from flints. For **fuel,** straw of various kinds and dried cow-dung were used, and rarely wood; nothing in the nature of coal was known to the Egyptians. The houses were lighted by **lamps** from the earliest times. It is probable that the ordinary lamp was made of stone or earthenware, and was round or shell-shaped and very shallow, with a projecting lip. Into this a small quantity of castor oil, or some other vegetable oil, was poured, and a few linen threads, laid in the oil, served as a wick. These threads were drawn out over the lip and lighted, and trimmed from time to time. Forty years ago many such lamps were to be seen in many parts of Egypt and in the Sūdān; they gave very little light, it is true, but they made no smoke. The Egyptians must have used artificial light of some kind in painting the walls and ceilings of the tombs, but nowhere do we find any trace of blackening by lamp smoke, and the only light they can have had was that given by lamps. We may dismiss from consideration the statements that have been made to the effect that the Egyptians used electricity for lighting purposes, for they are wholly unsupported by any evidence. But it is possible, as Herodotus suggests (ii. 62), that the wicks of their lamps were placed in some earthy substance which was saturated with oil and served as a feeder of them. Judging by the appearance of the objects that have been found

in graves of the Old Kingdom, and have been identified as lamps, early lamps had no projecting lip, and the wicks were placed in the centre. If this be so the shape of the lamp was that of a small bowl, and the oil-saturated material and the wick resembled the modern night-light. A **lamp-stand** that would accommodate several lamps was found in a Theban tomb, and we know from the inscription on a stele found at Jabal Barkal that a lamp-stand, , was dedicated to the temple of Amen-Rā there. The lighted or burning lamp played an important part in some of the religious and magical ceremonies of the Egyptians, as may be seen from the Vignette of Chap. cxxxvii of the Book of the Dead. The Egyptian Christians, *i.e.* the Copts, made their lamps of bronze and earthenware, and some of them had as many as seven burners.

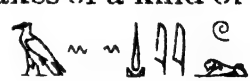
Egyptian Dress. A mere summary of the different kinds of articles of apparel worn by the Egyptians during the long period of their history would fill a good-sized volume, and in a little book like the present only a few of the most important of them can be mentioned. The primitive **waist-cord,** with its knot of magical significance, became a **belt** or girdle made of costly material, the **loin-cloth** made of linen became a tunic of elaborate form, and under the influence of the wealth, derived from conquered or raided nations, the Egyptians attained to a height of luxury in dress which it is hard to understand, and harder still to describe. It was not modesty or shamefacedness that drove

them to multiply the size and number of their garments, but love of display and of personal adornment. The naked human body at no time troubled them. Boys and girls went about naked, the former even whilst they were at school. Men and women worked in the fields naked, servants of both sexes went about their work in the house and around naked, and women of the upper classes were not ashamed to leave their necks and breasts uncovered before the public gaze. The bas-reliefs and paintings of the New Kingdom show that about 1400 B.C. women loved to have their longest garments made of diaphanous materials, through which every part of their bodies could be seen. And noblemen sat at meat and took part in religious festivals with the upper half of their bodies and their legs bare. The **dress** of **the god** and the king had much in common. The god had on his head a sort of helmet-cap, above which was his characteristic symbol. He wore a tunic which reached from his breast to his knees, and was held in position by two bands or straps, one over each shoulder. Round his waist was a girdle, and from its centre at the back hung a long **tail** made to resemble that of an animal. His legs, from the knees downwards, and feet were bare. In one hand he held a sceptre, , and in the other , the symbol of "life." The **goddess** wore on her head her characteristic symbol, and usually a collar round her neck. Her body was covered by a garment woven in one piece, reaching from her breasts to a little

above her ankles; it was held in position by a band or strap over each shoulder. The top of this long garment was covered by a band, which was put on after the garment, and its position was immediately below her breasts. Her ankles and feet were bare. In some pictures the goddess wears bracelets or bangles and anklets.

The **king,** like the god, wore a loin-cloth, which was kept in its place by means of a band or belt and a strip of linen that passed between the legs; sometimes this was supplemented by a kind of short tunic, the fold of which projected in front. From the back of the waistband or belt hung, in the earliest times, a jackal's tail, but at a later period an artificial tail took its place. Round his neck the king wore a collar, which was sometimes deep enough to cover the upper part of the breast, and on his head a helmet-cap (usually made of leather or linen), with two side flaps which fell one over each shoulder on to the breast. Under the New Kingdom shoulder-cloths and long garments like the cloaks worn by the Egyptians at the present time came into use. The **artisan classes** also wore loin-cloths and short tunics over them, and their forms and styles varied very little in the course of centuries. The peasant class wore very little clothing, and their dress, both for men and women, consisted of a single garment, even as it does in Egypt and the Sūdān to-day. The slave usually wore nothing. **Women,** including the queen, wore a single garment, which was held in position by

a band tied under the breasts and which reached to the ankles. Both the upper and lower hems were ornamented with designs in needlework which were more or less elaborate. Originally women of all classes were content to wear garments made of homespun linen, which closely resembled the *damūr* linen seen in the Sūdān at the present day; but as time went on weavers learned how to make the fine, diaphanous fabrics which are now generally called **byssus,** and these were commonly used in making the apparel of the queen and the princesses and the wives and daughters of rich men and high officials. The head-dress of the queen was usually made in the form of the Vulture-goddess Mut, , *i.e.* the "Mother," because the queen was held to be the mother of the nation.

The linen garments of the rich were washed in the River Nile by professional **washermen,** and those of the poorer classes by the women of the household. The clothes were laid upon flat stones and well beaten with palm sticks, or even stones, and it seems that fine sand or earth was used in the process of cleansing instead of **soap.** In the Ptolemaic Period, and probably earlier, the Egyptians used cakes of a kind of soap which was called ANTCHIR,  . This word is preserved in Coptic, and in the Homily of John, Archbishop of Constantinople, on Susanna, it is said that when she went into the garden to rest she sent her servants away to bring her ⲟⲩϩⲟⲥⲙ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛϫⲓⲣ, *i.e.* "soda

and soap." (*See* Budge, *Coptic Homilies*, page 49 (text).) **Socks, stockings, handkerchiefs and boots** seem to have been unknown in Ancient Egypt, but many **sandals** have been found in the tombs. Their shape is shown by the hieroglyph for sandal, They were made chiefly of plaited papyrus, but examples in wood and leather are known. Most people, and certainly the lower classes, went about barefoot, and many must have suffered from the stings of scorpions in consequence. The sandal latchet was frequently made of leather. Kings and men of high rank numbered a sandal-bearer among their servants, and noblemen were proud to be royal sandal-bearers. Then, as now, the sandals were put off on entering a house or royal or sacred precincts. Closed sandals, *i.e.* shoes, became common in the Graeco-Roman Period, and were adopted by all who could afford to protect their feet. The Christian monks made sandals as well as mats and baskets, and added to the revenues of their monasteries by their sale. The fingers and toes of statues of gods and kings, when "dressed" for day of festival, were covered with finger-stalls, similar to the fingers of the modern **gloves.** Those that were placed on the fingers and toes of Thothmes III were made of massive gold, and the royal finger-nails and toe-nails were represented by thin nail-shaped plaques of lapis-lazuli. They reached to the second joints of the fingers, and were held in position by straps of gold, which were fastened to gold bands round the wrists and ankles.

The articles of **jewellery** and other decorative objects used as personal adornments were originally **amulets**.[1] Among these may be mentioned **collars, necklaces** and **pectorals** formed of rows of **beads** made of semi-precious stones, gold, crystal, etc. The earliest known beads were unpierced Under the XIIth Dynasty necklaces were made entirely of **scarabs** in amethyst, sard, carnelian, agate and lapis-lazuli; at a later time the amulets , , , , and figures of the gods and flies and heads of Hathor, all in gold, were interspersed with the beads. **Armlets** and **bracelets** were worn by large numbers of women; the former were usually made of copper, and the latter of gold. A few examples of bracelets or bangles made of flint and glazed Egyptian porcelain are known. **Anklets** closely resembled armlets in shape, and were made of copper or gold Small earrings made of gold inlaid with semi-precious stones were common in early days; in the later periods of Egyptian history they were made very long. The most elaborate examples of them are found in graves of the first five centuries of the Christian Era. The varieties of the **finger ring** are many. The greater number of them were made of gold wire of varying thickness, and the bezel was formed by an inscribed scarab or a plaque,

[1] The word "amulet" is derived from the Arabic حمائل which means something that is worn or carried to protect a person against the attacks of evil spirits. Compare "phylactery."

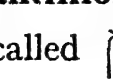
rectangular or oval, on which were carved figures of gods and goddesses or magical inscriptions. Some of the massive gold rings have bezels of cylindrical form, and some have elongated projections in the form of a cartouche with royal names written in it. The finger ring had a special importance in the Other World, and when a man was too poor to afford one in metal he provided himself with one made of plaited grass or straw.

The Egyptians of the upper classes paid great attention to their **personal appearance** and to the physical well-being of the body. In early times women, and sometimes men, cut or punctured designs of various kinds on certain parts of their body, with the idea that they would protect them against the attacks of evil spirits. In later times loyal officials had the name of the reigning king **tattooed** on their shoulders or breasts, and royal cartouches were often cut on the shoulders and breasts of the statues of officials, perhaps with the idea of placing them under the magical protection of the king. As a rule men shaved off their beards and side-whiskers, but not the **hair** of their head. Their **razors** were made of flint in early times, and in later of copper. The models of the elaborately plaited beard which we see attached to coffins represent the traditional form of the beard of the natives of Punt in the Northern Sūdān, to whom the primitive Egyptians were related. The purely native form of the beard is represented by the short, almost square, tuft of hair which is seen on the point of the chin in paintings of

all classes of people of all periods. Figures of Osiris generally have the Punite beard, a fact that suggests that it had a special ceremonial or religious character. Men wore **wigs** made of sheep's wool, and several paintings in the tombs show that they wore **false beards.** Some paintings suggest that the hair of some Egyptians curled naturally, but whether curly or straight the hair was cut comparatively short. Women dressed their hair in many different ways. Sometimes it fell naturally over the neck and shoulders, sometimes it was arranged in plaits of different lengths, and sometimes it was done up in a mass which was fastened by a band or fillet at the back of the head. In many cases the hair was divided into two parts, each of which fell down in front; an ornamental fillet placed immediately above the forehead prevented it from falling over the face. At festivals and entertainments women wore lotus flowers in their hair, the blossoms projecting over their foreheads, and on the top of the head a cake or ball of scented unguent in a light framework was placed. This unguent melted by degrees and ran over the head and down into the hair, and besides producing a pleasant coolness in the head imparted to the hair itself a delightful aroma (*see* p. 73).

In figures and statues of the Old Kingdom the hair seems to have been "bobbed," and the appearance of the hair of some of those of the New Kingdom suggests that a mode of treating and dressing the hair closely resembling the "shingling" of the present day was known to the Egyptians. It is not certain whether

Egyptian women knew of or used **depilatories,** but judging by the prescriptions for the hair that are found in the Ebers Papyrus, they must have dyed their hair black when it was turning grey. To increase the thickness of the hair they used many kinds of perfumed oils and scented unguents composed of ingredients that were believed to possess magical properties. Women greatly hoped that they would have masses of hair on their heads in the Other World, and in order to make this certain their hair, under the New Kingdom, was cut off by their relatives and tied up in a bundle, which was placed under the feet of the mummy in its cartonnage case **Hairpins** were made of wood or ivory, and were ornamented in various ways The **combs** used for the hair were also made of wood or ivory, and several examples of the small-tooth comb are known. Of the combs that were placed in the hair as ornaments, the oldest known belong to the Late Neolithic Period; many fine examples of those used by Coptic women are to be seen in the British Museum

The intense heat of the summer, and the bitter cold of the nights, and the blinding glare of the water which covered the land during the Inundation, produced ophthalmia and many other diseases of the eyes, which frequently destroyed the sight. At a very early period both men and women smeared their eyelids with specially prepared unguents, and laid over them powdered **antimony,** or stibium (which the Egyptians called  , *mestemt,* and

A Theban feast

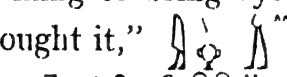
The guests, male and female, are seated on chairs, with legs made in the form of the legs of lions, and are being served with food and drink by naked female servants. On the top of the wig of each guest we see the cone containing scented unguent which melts and runs down over the head and body, bringing with it coolness and refreshment

The inspection and counting of the king's cattle at Thebes. From a tomb wall-painting in the British Museum.

the Greeks στίμμι, and the Arabs كحل, or *kuhl*), or a powder made from lead or copper or practically any substance possessing astringent properties The unguent was applied by the finger, but the powder was laid on the eyelids by means of a short stick made of wood or bone or ivory or stone, with a flattened end. The Arabs call such a stick the "needle," مرود, *ibrah*, of the *kuhl* pot **Eye-paint**, as we may term these preparations, was kept in tubes made of alabaster, Egyptian porcelain, wood, ivory, earthenware, etc, and the tube and its needle were often provided with a leather case. And the Egyptian women soon discovered that smearing the eyelids with unguent and stibium not only eased the pain in the eyes and rested them, but also added to the natural beauty of their faces The whiteness of the whites of the eyes was emphasized by the darkened eyelids, and the large dark pupils appeared like black pools in their midst, the whole effect being very striking The eyebrows as well as the eyelids were frequently painted with stibium, of which several preparations were known, some wholly black and others greenish in colour. Whether the custom of painting the eyelids and eyebrows was indigenous or of foreign origin is unknown, but there seems to be little doubt that some kinds of eye-paint were imported from the East. Under the XIIth Dynasty a present of eye-paint was brought to one of the nobles at Bani Hasan by the Amu people from Western Asia, the scene is reproduced in the following illustration.

In the upper register we see the great Egyptian nomarch Khnemu-hetep II accompanied by his dogs and an attendant. The royal scribe Nefer-hetep, , presents to him a document on which is recorded the arrival of a company of the Āmu bringing eye-paint. Behind him is the official Khati, , and behind him is the

The Amu bringing eye paint to Khnemu hetep II at Beni Hasan

governor of the land, Absha, , who together with his men is bringing wild animals from the desert. The inscription above reads, "The coming to bring eye paint; thirty-seven Āmu brought it,"  . In the lower register are seen the armed men of the company and their women, a boy, and the asses.

Climatic conditions have in all periods made it necessary for the Egyptians to anoint themselves with **oils** and **unguents** of various kinds, and the dead in the various mansions of heaven, as well as the living, found it necessary to make use of them. The oils were obtained from plants and trees, both native and foreign, and were supposed to possess magical as well as medicinal properties; what kind of fat, or fats, was used in the preparation of salves and pomades is not known. Scented oils and salves were kept in vessels made of stone or alabaster (with closely fitting covers to prevent the escape of the perfume), hundreds of examples of which may be seen in every large museum. Sets of four, six or more, containing the choicest kinds of perfumed oils, were frequently arranged in specially constructed cases, as in Persia, India and other countries at the present day. Anointing the body usually followed bathing, and as the Egyptians attached the greatest importance to **personal cleanliness,** the daily use of oils and salves was general among women of the upper classes; then as now it brought with it a feeling of physical well-being and restfulness. The hair was perfumed by pouring scented oil on the top of the head, especially during the festivals and other public rejoicings. Anointing with oil had also a ceremonial importance, and under the Old Kingdom the dead were anointed with the **Seven Holy Oils,** the names of which are duly set forth in the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings, and on the alabaster **anointing slabs,** examples of which may be seen in the British

Museum (Nos. 29, 421, 6124, 6125). Women also perfumed their bodies by **fumigation,** for they seated themselves over or near small piles of burning powder made of gums and aromatic substances. One of the principal ingredients was probably sandalwood powder, which is largely used in Egypt and the Sūdān at the present day.

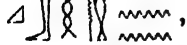
In the matter of washing and anointing, cleanliness and godliness went hand in hand, and the feeling of physical well-being which resulted from them was enhanced by the consciousness that a religious obligation had been discharged. The use of the juice of the *hinna* plant for staining the nails of the hands and feet a reddish-yellow colour was common in Egypt, but whether it had any religious significance or whether the plant possessed valuable medicinal properties, is not known. Painting the cheeks and staining the lips red was not unknown among Egyptian women, as one of the mummies found at Dêr al-Baharī proves. The breath was sweetened by holding in the mouth small pellets made of aromatic spices mixed with honey, and perhaps the famous *ānti* gum. The **toilet-box,** or dressing-case, of a lady contained tubes of stibium and salve for the eyelids, flasks of scented unguent, a "shell" in bronze or alabaster on which to mix unguents, a pair of sandals, a comb with two rows of teeth, small papyrus cushions, and a **mirror.** The mirror was made of a round or oval plate of fine copper, polished on each side, and was set in a handle of wood, ivory or copper. Some handles are in the form of a lotus column, and others in that of a naked woman,

who is probably intended to represent Hathor, the goddess of beauty. Mirrors were kept in wooden or copper cases, but few examples of these have come down to us.

Speaking generally, the Egyptians lived upon the produce of their own country which, except in continuous years of famine, was amply sufficient for their needs. The **food** of the rich and well-to-do folk was more varied than that of the peasants and slaves, and then as now men ate and drank according to their means. The poorer classes had to be satisfied with bread and water and a few vegetables; meat and game and wine and rich pastry were only to be found commonly in the houses of the wealthy.

The most important article of food was **bread,** which was made into cakes and loaves of many shapes and sizes, *e.g.* , , , . Flour was obtained by crushing and rolling the grain with a stone roller on a slightly concave slab of stone; this grinding was done by the women of the house, who knelt on the ground to obtain the necessary purchase on the roller. When large quantities of flour were required mills with two grinding stones placed one above the other were used. The flour was mixed with water, and the resulting dough was twisted or cut into cakes or loaves, and baked either on heated stones or in ovens. In larger houses the bread-cakes were carried from the oven to the store-house in baskets, as at the present day. Cooks possessing the skill of the confectioner mixed honey with the dough and made dainty rolls and three-cornered cakes for festivals. Many families

kept herds of **geese** of the large kind which we see depicted on the walls of tombs. They were roasted on braziers or baked in ovens made of Nile mud. The goose was one of the principal offerings made to the dead, and figures of it are cut upon the *hetep* offering-slabs, , and drawn on papyri. **Fish** was a common article of food, but, as we learn from the great stele of Piānkhi, the Nubians regarded the eaters of fish as unclean. The **flesh of cows and oxen** was eaten after boiling. The animal was bled to death, and then the head was cut off and the body dismembered The slaughter of the bull and the presentation of its heart to the deceased form one of the most important ceremonies in the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth.

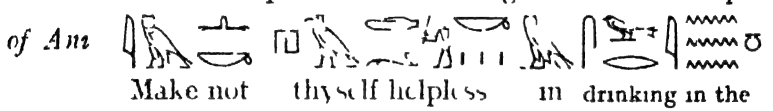
The **drink** of the community in general was **water** from the Nile, for even if it was drawn from wells, the source of their supply was the river. Water was brought from the Nile in skins (the modern *girbah*), and poured into large porous jars (the modern *zīr*), which stood in the courtyards of houses, presumably in some shady place, or perhaps in a specially roofed-in building. These large jars "sweated," *i.e.* the water oozed through their sides, and the water inside was cooled by the evaporation caused by the currents of air that blew through the courtyards. The texts prove conclusively that the Egyptians loved a "cool drink,"  , and more than one deceased person prays that he may drink water drawn from the deep middle part, , of the river. Nile

water must always have had a large quantity of animal and vegetable matter in solution, and yet if drunk fresh it causes the drinker no inconvenience. Year by year the Atbarā brought down in its roaring flood an immense mass of red earth, vegetable refuse, carcases of animals, and sometimes human bodies, and people drank its water and were unharmed. Even to-day, provided the *zīrs* and *kullas* are kept clean, it is a wonderfully refreshing drink.

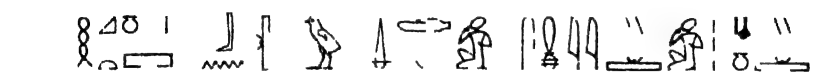
The Egyptians, like many other African peoples, drank **milk** in large quantities, but their favourite beverage was **beer**, , *ḥeqt*. The king and every man of substance had his own **brewery**, but the poor man had to buy his beer at the "house of beer," *i.e.* beer-shop, untold numbers of which must have existed throughout the country. Beer was made from almost any kind of grain. The grain was wetted and kept until it began to sprout, then they rubbed it down and made a paste of it, of which they fashioned large cakes. These were lightly baked and then broken up, and the pieces were put into pots which were filled with water. These were left for a day or two so that fermentation might take place, and then the liquid was strained and drunk whilst fresh. It had a slightly bitter, acid taste, probably like that of the beer made in the Sūdān to-day, but if kept for a day or two it became sour and undrinkable. The power of this beer to intoxicate was very great, if we may judge by the warnings against excess in drinking it

that are given by the sages,[1] but it was drunk freely by young and old, and by men and women alike. Beer formed one of the most important offerings to the dead, and specially prepared kinds of it were presented to the deceased during the recital of the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth. Curiously enough, offerings of bread-cakes and beer were made to certain of the granite obelisks at Thebes, but this practice must have arisen

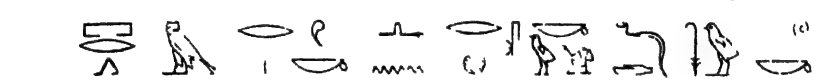
[1] Here is an example of such warnings from the *Precepts of Ani*



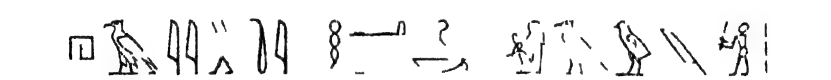
Make not thyself helpless in drinking in the



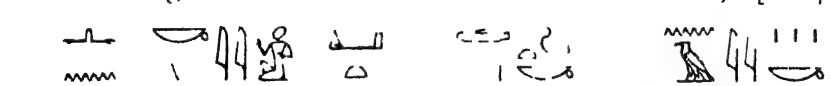
beer shop For will not the words of [thy] report repeated



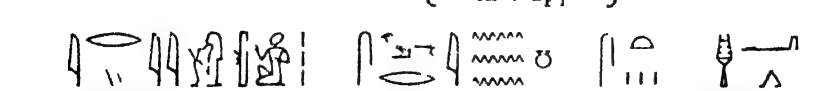
slip out from { thy mouth } without { thy knowing } { that thou hast uttered them? }



Falling down thy limbs will be broken, [and]



no one will give thee { a hand to help thee up } as for thy



companions in the swilling of beer, they will get up

and say, "Outside with this drunkard."

through the persistence of the belief that the spirit of the Sun-god dwelt in them, for the obelisk was only an elongation of the shaft of the Sun Stone which was worshipped at Heliopolis under the Old Kingdom. The drinking of **wine** in Egypt is as old as dynastic civilization. The hieroglyph for the growing **vine** shows us a vine branch trained over stakes, , and the hieroglyph for **wine-press,** , which illustrates the pressing out of the juice of grapes into a vessel, proves that the manufacture of wine dates from the earliest times.

The king and every large landed proprietor possessed a **vineyard** and stored the wine in large earthenware jars, the mouths of which were stopped with mud and sealed with seals bearing the name of the owner of the wine. Many districts, *e.g.* Aswān (Syene), Per-Uatchit, the Fayyūm and the country round about Lake Mareotis were famous for their wine, and that made in the Delta, which was a species of *vin ordinaire*, is often mentioned in the lists. Large quantities of wine were imported into Egypt from Libya and Palestine and Syria, and a portion of a wine-jar, inscribed with the words "Rhodian wine," found in the chamber of offerings of a pyramid at Nabawi, proves that wine was also imported from the Greek Islands. In some cases the drinking of wine formed a kind of ceremonial function, and it is possible that in certain circumstances it possessed a religious significance. Vases of wine and censers filled

with burning incense were offered as very special gifts to the gods at all periods of Egyptian history. Specimens of the wine-cups used under the New Kingdom are exhibited in the British Museum (Nos. 24680, 26226, 4801). Besides the ordinary beer the Egyptians drank a special kind which was sweetened with honey and resembled **mead.**

CHAPTER III

PHARAOH AND HIS SUBJECTS

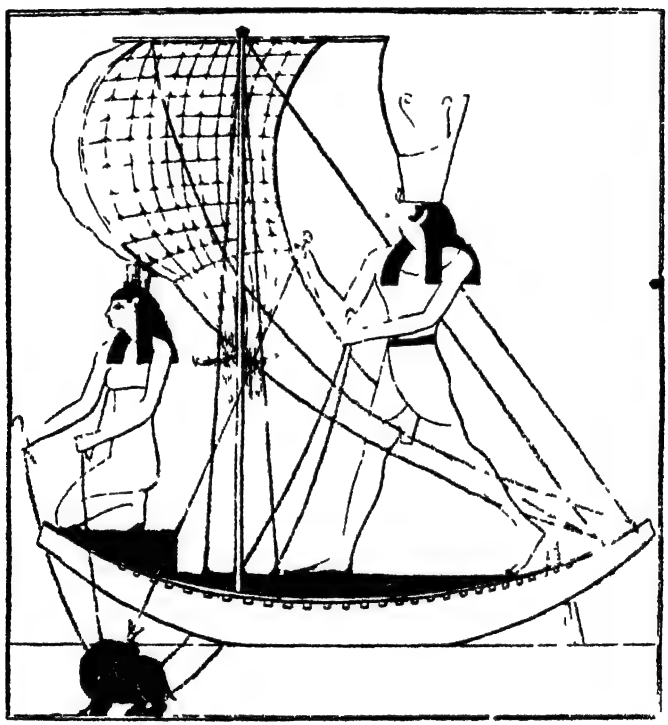
PHARAOH, King of all Egypt, was, as this title signifies, the "Great House," , *Per-ā*, in which all his people lived and sought asylum; with far less reason the Sultān of Turkey also called himself "Bāb al-'Ali," or "the Exalted Gate," which is commonly rendered "Sublime Porte." In prehistoric times each large district of Egypt had its own ruler, and the country was divided into a series of what were practically small kingdoms. In the Late Neolithic Period there was one great king in Upper Egypt and another in Lower Egypt, *i.e.* the Delta, and these two great divisions of the country were known throughout the later Dynastic Period as the "Two Lands," . Upper Egypt seems to have been divided into two parts, and the capital of the southern half was **Hensu,** which Hebrew writers, *e.g.* Isaiah (xxx. 4), called **Khānēs,** and the Greeks

knew as **Herakleopolis.** At the end of the Neolithic Period war broke out between the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the king of the South conquered the king of the North, and so became the Unifier of the Two Lands and King of all Egypt. The conquest of Lower Egypt was probably not effected by one king, and it is not quite certain which king really earned the title of "Unifier of the Two Lands," though on the whole the credit of the subjugation of the North by the South must be given to **Nārmer,** who was a mighty warrior and a great conqueror. Manetho, in his King List, makes **Mēnes** to be the first king of Egypt, and as this name no doubt represents the Egyptian **Menȧ,** , or Men, , which was also one of the titles of Aha, the successor of Nārmer, we may assume that the final unification of Egypt was effected by him. The power of the king of Egypt at that time was absolute, and right of conquest made him the owner of the whole country and the master of every living being in it, and the religious directors of the people were his servants. But sooner or later every king of Egypt has found it expedient to be on good terms with the ancient priesthoods of the country, and the early dynastic kings obtained the support of the priesthood of Nekhen in Upper Egypt and of the priesthood of Per-Uatchit in the Delta; in the former city the deity worshipped was Nekhebit, the Vulture-goddess, , and in the latter the Uraeus-goddess Uatchit, . But the king was the

lineal descendant of a god who had reigned upon earth, and was, therefore, a god, even though he possessed a body of flesh; he was not only the god of his people, but he could present their offerings, together with his own, to himself. The king's will was the god's will, his actions were the outcome of the god's thoughts, and in looking upon the king's person the people looked upon the god He was worshipped as a god, the "great god," , *neter ā*, the "beneficent god," , *neter nefer*, and even as "lord, maker of things," , *neb ari akht*. As man he built a temple to himself as a god, and he worshipped himself in it; for Amenhetep III built the temple at Sulb in his own honour, and worshipped himself in it, and he built another to his wife Tī as a goddess, and worshipped her as such in it.

The king claimed as his ancestor the god **Her,** or Horus, whose symbol was the hawk, , which was in early times regarded as the personification of the spirit of the highest heaven, his right eye, , being the sun and his left eye, , the moon. His solar character is indicated by the disk on his head, . As the son and descendant of Horus the king adopted a **Horus name,** or title, which was written on a rectangular object represented thus ; as the king approved by the ancient "mother-goddesses" Nekhebit

and Uatchit he assumed a **Nebti** name, or title, , and as the "Horus of gold," , he added a third name to his titulary. As "Lord of the Two Lands," or perhaps as the Unifier of Upper



Horus in human form and wearing the double crown rowing up the Nile during his conquest of Egypt. He has driven his harpoon into the hippopotamus the symbol of revolt, rebellion and evil, which is fettered by chains held by Horus and by Isis who stands in the bow of the boat.

and Lower Egypt. he took, at a later time, a fourth title, *i.e.* the **Nesubat** name, ; in this double character the reed, , is the symbol of his sovereignty over the South, and the bee,

or hornet, , of his rule over the North. The unity of the Two Lands is graphically depicted in the hieroglyph , which represents the lotus of the Delta and the papyrus of Upper Egypt twined round the symbol of union, and we see it cut on the sides of the royal throne. But as a matter of fact the separate existence of the South and the North was always recognized As lord of the South the king wore the White Crown, , and as king of the North the Red Crown, , and each is clearly distinguishable in the double crown, .

For some time, probably for many centuries, the king was worshipped as the son of Horus the Sun-god, but during the rule of the great kings who built the Pyramids of Gīzah, the priesthood of An or Anu, the **On** of the Bible (Gen. xli. 45), succeeded in gaining great power in the North, and their god **Rā**, a form of the Sun-god, attained a predominant position among the gods of Egypt. The city of On, or Heliopolis, "the city of the Sun," was founded in very early times, and it was a large and important town long before the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt by Nārmer or Aha. It was the terminus of many caravan routes from the east, north, west and south, and was the greatest centre of trade and commerce in the north of Egypt. Men of many nationalities and religions met and transacted business there, and as a result the

priesthood of On became a very wealthy and powerful body. By way of On foreign influences of all kinds came into Egypt, and the peculiar form of the worship of the Sun-god that obtained there seems to have been introduced from some country in the east coming through Syria and Palestine. The priesthood of Rā watched their opportunity and, having succeeded in disposing of the last kings of the IVth Dynasty, they were able to set on the throne in succession three of the sons of a woman called Ruttet, the wife of a priest of Rā of Sakhabu. These children were declared to be the sons of Rā who, in human form, had companied with her. The same story is told about Queen Hatshepsut and Amenhetep III, who were held to have been begotten by Amen-Rā, and according to the narrative of the Pseudo-Callisthenes (Book i. Chap. 8), Alexander the Great was the son of Amen (Ammon), who took the form of Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt, and begot him by Queen Olympias. The bas-reliefs illustrating the conception and birth of Amenhetep III are found in his temple at Luxor, and those that concern Queen Hatshepsut in her temple at Dēr al-Baharī. The priests of Rā, having placed their nominees on the throne, determined to make an addition to the royal titulary, and a fifth name or title was added to it describing the king as the "son of Rā," , *sa Rā*. From that time onwards every king of Egypt called himself the "son of Rā," and the Nubians, Persians, Ptolemies and Romans who reigned over Egypt adopted it without scruple. In

PLATE IV.

Sefi I, King of Egypt, about [illegible] B.C.

Rameses II, King of Egypt, about [illegible] B.C.

Photographed from these mummies in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, by the late Signor Beato, of Luxor.

many cases this name was the personal name of the king, or an abbreviation of it. Both fourth and fifth names of the king were written within ovals, , and on many bas-reliefs the oval is represented as being formed of a rope, of which the two ends are knotted together. This oval, or **cartouche**, as it is commonly called, was intended to protect the king's name from evil influences, for to injure the king's name was to injure the king himself. The double knot was believed to be an amulet of great power.

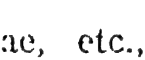
Of the ceremonies that were performed in the earliest times when a new king ascended the throne we know nothing, but the news of his accession was quickly promulgated. Under the New Kingdom four birds were released and sent each into one of the quarters of the world to inform all and sundry that a new king occupied the throne. The court scribes drew up his titulary, and despatched copies of it throughout the country, and the king himself made a royal progress to all the ancient shrines, and assured the various priesthoods that he would respect their privileges and increase them. In the first or second year of his reign he set out to raid some country (in the earlier times the countries were Sinai and the Northern Sūdān, in the later Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia), in order to show the nations around that he was a mighty warrior as well as a god. He fought in person, and the custom of the country demanded that he should slay a number of prisoners with his own hand; representatives of the vanquished

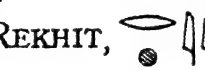
peoples or tribes were made to kneel before him with their arms tied together at the elbows behind their backs, , and the king smashed in their skulls with a stone-headed or metal-headed mace, , or cut off their heads with a scimitar, . Usually the king was the eldest son of his predecessor by the "king's woman," , or **Queen,** who was sometimes his sister, but many of the kings of Egypt were not of royal birth. In early times it was thought that when the king died he departed to a heaven that was inhabited by the gods alone. The Sun-god welcomed him as his son and equal, and he reigned over the "gods" as autocratically and as absolutely as he had reigned over men upon earth, and hunted at will in the fields of the skies. He forced the "gods" to transfer their power and immortality to him, and he reigned in heaven for ever and ever.

In early times the king lived with his queen and family in a mud-brick house, like his subjects, and his household was very numerous. Though in theory he directed the affairs of the kingdom, and attended personally to every detail of the administration of the laws, etc., in practice the government of the country was in the hands of an official called **That,** , who was the equivalent of the **Wazīr** in modern Oriental Courts. Next to him in importance came the **Keeper of the Seal,** . The **seal** itself was a small cylinder made of wood or stone on which were cut the

royal names and titles; it was perforated lengthwise and was carried on a string, and was worn on the person of the Keeper of the Seal. The cylinder was rolled over the soft sealing material used (mud?), leaving on it a copy of the inscription in hieroglyphs in high relief. Several wooden cylinder-seals which were made and used in the Late Neolithic Period have been found, and it is doubtful if the use of the cylinder-seal was introduced into Egypt from Lower Babylonia, as has been stated. The cylinder-seal was superseded by a flat, rectangular stone seal, and later by the signet ring. The Wazīr and the Keeper of the Seal had a staff of **scribes** and other officials to assist them, and the overseers of the royal estates and cattle and granaries, etc., were very numerous. Certain of the officials at court were kinsmen of the king and queen, and these bore the honorific title of **Rekh Nesu,** , but the king sometimes conferred this title on a friend who was no relative at all. Another title of honour was **Smer,** , or **Smer uāt** , *i.e.* "Friend" and "Only Friend."

The king's personal attendants were very numerous, and among them may be mentioned the bearer of the royal stool or chair, the sandal-bearer, the fan-bearer, the men of the bodyguards--each of whom was responsible for the safety of the royal person—the keeper of his apparel, the steward of the palace, the keeper of the king's private chambers, the butler, the baker, the treasurer, the captain

of the royal barge, the keepers of hunting and fishing equipment, the architect. The **queen's household** was also numerous, and included nurses and tutors for the princes and princesses, keepers of the apartments, keepers of the wardrobe, etc. One of the most valued honours that the king could bestow upon a meritorious official or friend was the gift of a tomb and permission to be buried near the royal tomb. As kings and rulers have done from time immemorial in many parts of Africa, the king of Egypt sent a funerary offering when one of his officials or friends was buried. This offering was not only a proof of his regard for the deceased, but it indicated that he would extend his divine protection to him in the Other World; in other words, the deceased entered the Other World under royal auspices. When heaven was democratized and the king was believed to share it with the humblest of his subjects, it was generally assumed that he sent a funerary offering at the burial of every one of them. The result of this was that on tombs, sarcophagi, coffins, stelae, etc., the signs  were prefixed to every inscription in which the deceased prays to the gods and goddesses of the dead for meat and drink for his KA, or personification of his spiritual individuality. The hieroglyphs mean "the king () gives () an offering ()," or perhaps a tablet of offerings, and they are found on funerary monuments of the latest period.

The great Babylonian king Khammurabi divided his subjects into three classes, viz., the aristocracy or nobility, the class below, which probably included what we should call the middle and artisan classes, and the slave class. The Egyptian inscriptions make no mention of any such division of the population into classes, but three classes of beings are mentioned which may at one time have represented classes of the people, viz., the HENMEMET, , the REKHIT,  , and the APERU. , the first being the gentry, the second the intelligent, instructed class, and the third the peasant labourers and slaves.

In Egypt the hereditary landed proprietors formed a sort of feudal aristocracy, and their power was very great; many of them held high offices under the king as priests and governors of nomes and heads of the departments of the state. The **nomarch** was obliged to have an armed force under his command in order to keep order in his district, and had to equip and supply troops, both for land and river service, when the king ordered a raid to be made. Such high officials sat as chief judges in the Law Courts, and drew up and enforced laws, and assessed and collected the king's taxes. The nomarch was directly responsible to the king for the well-being of the people in his nome, and his authority was well-nigh absolute. Egyptian history shows that the old feudal nobles in places like Nekheb (Hierakonpolis) and Sun (Syene, or Aswān)

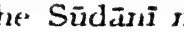
were practically kings in their districts. It was through Mekhu, Sabben, Herkhuf and other nobles of Sun (Syene) that the Egyptians of the VIth Dynasty made their way into the Sūdān and laid the foundation of their future conquest of that country. The nobles of Nekheb protected the southern frontier of Egypt for some centuries, and two of them, called Aāhmes and Aāhmes-pen-Nekheb, contributed largely to the success of Egyptian arms in Western Asia under the XVIIIth Dynasty. Frequently the interests of the great feudal lords and those of the king clashed, and the officials of the king found it very difficult to perform their duties. The power of the king began to diminish towards the close of the VIth Dynasty, and that of the nobles increased steadily until Amenemhat III, a king of the XIIth Dynasty, forced them to recognize his authority and to obey his laws. But whenever for any reason the central power was weak or lacking in the country, every lord proceeded to do what was right in his own eyes. Robbery and oppression became the order of the day, and the lower classes suffered greatly.

Though there are many examples of men of humble birth attaining high position, either through their great personal abilities, or through marriage with well-born or wealthy women, it is tolerably certain that, speaking generally, sharp dividing lines existed between the classes. The nobleman taught his son to rule and manage the family estates so that he might succeed him; the handicraftsman taught his son to follow his trade, and the priestly classes and the scribes were the

most exclusive of all. The man who was born a **slave** lived and died a slave, and left no memorial of himself behind; if he was given a wife, or if he took one and had children, they were the property of his master. The Egyptians were a humane people, and it is quite possible that the lot of the slave was not as miserable as has been generally supposed. The inscriptions give us no detailed information on this subject, but, on the whole, I believe that the condition of the slave, in the first half of the XIXth century, under Muhammad 'Alī and his sons, was substantially what it has ever been since the beginning of the Dynastic Period, six thousand years ago. There have always been kind masters and cruel masters, and there must always have been very much worse conditions of life than those under which the slaves of Khnemuhetep lived at Menāt-Khufu under the XIIth Dynasty.

The Egyptian **Soldier.** The history of Egypt shows clearly that the Egyptians as a nation were wholly lacking in military spirit, and that they abhorred war. Whenever it was necessary to do so they were ready to fight in a primitive fashion for their fields and canals and homes, but for the defence of their country as a whole they were by nature and temperament unfitted; they had no national spirit, at all events under the Old and Middle Kingdoms. And even under the New Kingdom the principal object of all their raids and so-called "wars" was the acquisition of spoil and prisoners, whom they could use as slaves. Though that portion of the Nile Valley which is Egypt, and is 600 miles

long, lay open on both sides of the Nile to the attacks of the warlike peoples of the deserts, and invasion from the north and south was always easy for a determined foe, Egypt never possessed anything that could be called an "Army" until the beginning of the New Kingdom. The expulsion of the Hyksos by Aāhmes I, and the successful raids in Western Asia and the Sūdān, and the loot that they obtained, turned the Egyptians into fighters at intervals between 1500 B.C. and 1100 B.C. But after the serious check which Rameses II received from the Hittites, native military ardour evaporated, and with the rise to power of the XXIInd Dynasty the period of domination by the Libyans, Ethiopians (Nubians), Assyrians, Persians and Macedonians began.

Seneferu, having conquered Sinai for the sake of its copper mines, raided the Sūdān for the sake of the gold in its mines and rivers, and brought back 7,000 men (slaves), and 200,000 oxen and goats. The reputation of the fighting *powers of the Sūdānī man induced the official* Una, , who was deputed by Pepi Meremā to fight against the Asiatics of the Eastern Desert, to "stiffen" his troops with various tribes of the Blacks,  *Nehesu.*

Una's "army" was a mixed mob of Blacks [illegible]yptians, for they robbed [illegible] wayfarer of [illegible]ls and food, they ate up the food in [illegible]hey passed through, they cut down [illegible]estroyed the vines, slew the people

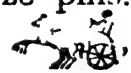
Rameses II, in full panoply of war, charging the Hittite forces and their allies at the Battle of Kadesh, and cutting his way through the chariots of the enemy, by which he was surrounded

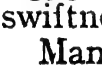
who resisted, took prisoner the remainder, and having laid waste the enemy's country returned laden with spoil to Egypt, and were welcomed with cries of joy. The object of every Egyptian "war," or raid, was loot or, as it was euphemistically called, "tribute." Great kings like Usertsen (Sen-Usrit) III and Thothmes III established their officers in various towns in the Sūdān and Western Asia, not to teach the natives the secrets of Egyptian civilization, but to collect the tribute and to send it to Egypt annually in order to save their royal masters the trouble of going to fetch it. The king, every great temple, each governor of a nome, and every feudal noble maintained an armed force to protect their interests, but order was maintained chiefly by the Matchaiu, , who were imported from Nubia. Under the New Kingdom **mercenaries** were predominant in the army, and Rameses II and Rameses III hired Libyans and other foreigners from the islands of the Mediterranean and the sea-coast to fight their battles. At a later period Greeks, Carians and others, from a military point of view, were masters of Egypt.

The **weapons** of the pre-dynastic Egyptian soldier were:—(1) A stout **cudgel** like that used by watchmen in Egypt to-day; (2) a **mace** or **club**, or , consisting of a short stick with a lump of bitumen on the top or a perforated stone (later copper) head; (3) a **spear** made of wood, with a slice of flint fastened to one end; (4) **bow and arrows,** the latter made of reeds

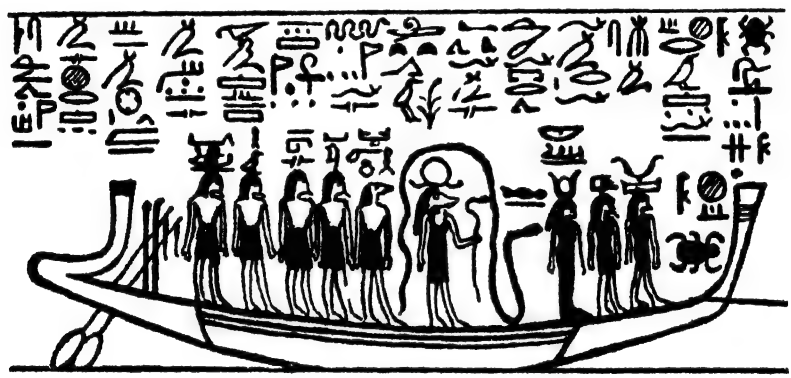
tipped with flints; (5) a large flint **knife** or **dagger**; (6) a **battle-axe** formed by tying a slab of stone or flint to a short stout wooden handle or by fixing it in a cleft in the handle, . Sometimes the axe was double-headed, , the stones being tied to the handle with leather thongs. The stone head had various shapes, *e.g.* , , ; the holes in the last received the leather thongs which tied it to the handle. Other shapes of axe-heads were and ; each of these was perforated to receive the handle; (7, 8) a **curved stick**, , similar to that carried by peoples of the Eastern desert to-day, and a short **pike**, . The soldier wore a very short tunic with a belt above it, and from this a tail, real or artificial, hung down behind. In his thick hair were one or two feathers of the red parrot (now no longer found in Egypt), and the **standard** under which he fought had for its head the figure of the hawk of Horus, . The primitive battle-axe with a stone head, , was probably the original of the hieroglyph which, at a later period, was the sign for "god," ; here we have, it seems, a reminiscence of the cult of stones. Under the Middle Kingdom, if not earlier, the soldier defended himself with a **shield**, , which was made of

wood or wicker-work covered with hide and sometimes strengthened with a metal rim and bolts. It was held in the left hand when the soldier was fighting, and on the march he carried it on his back; it varied in shape, or , and sometimes had a boss. The front was often decorated with tribal marks, etc. The form of the primitive **bow** was , from which are derived the later hieroglyphs and ; it was held in the left hand, . The arrows were tipped with metal heads and winged with five feathers, The **quiver** was usually carried on the back. The head was covered with a cloth cap, ornamented sometimes with feathers, as the hieroglyphs show, and in later times the king wore a helmet, , made of leather and metal. The **sling** (or catapult), , *khaā*, was made of leather, and pebbles for it were carried in a little bag suspended from the belt. The **boomerang** was as useful to the soldier as to the fowler. Under the New Kingdom many varieties of the bronze **dagger** and **knife** were used; they were from 7 to 10 inches in length and were often set in beautifully decorated and inlaid handles. The **battle-axe** had a bronze head and a comparatively short, curved handle, , but other forms were used, *e.g.* and or . The later kings often used a sort of

scimitar, , *khepesh,* in battle, and a **club** or mace, , like their pre-dynastic ancestors. The **cuirass,** only found under the New Kingdom, was made of several rows of shield-shaped metal plates fastened by bronze pins. The use of **horses** and **chariots,**  , in war was borrowed from the Hyksos, Hittites and other peoples of Northern Syria. The horse was introduced into Babylonia by the Kassites, and after the invasion of their country by the Hyksos the Egyptians quickly realized its importance when swiftness of attack and mobility were required.

Many men who were eligible for service in the army were enrolled by the military scribe,  , of the district, a man of great power and authority The recruits were called "Neferu," , as opposed to the veterans, , and until about 1500 B.C. the army consisted of foot-soldiers entirely. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty there was an army of Upper Egypt and an army of Lower Egypt, and these presumably were the originals of the Kalasirians and Hermotybians mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 116). These were subdivided into battalions, , *sa,* each of which had a special title: thus there was the "*Sa* of Pharaoh," the "*Sa* of Amen," and so on. The **officers** were usually friends of the king, or noblemen, and

their nominees, and their military and other titles were many. Soldiers seem to have been classified according to their duties as combatants or non-combatants; among the former were the spearmen, the bowmen, , the men with spears and shields, and the **cavalry**, , *tent hetra*. The Nubians

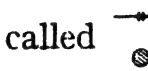
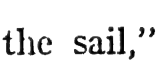
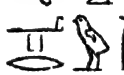
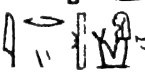


The Night Boat of the Sun god on the great river of the Tuat or Underworld. The god stands under a canopy formed by the body of the serpent Mehen. At the bows is the beetle of Khepa or Khepera and behind him are Upuatu, Saa, and the Lady of the Boat. Behind the god are Hekan and four gods who form the crew that paddle the boat along. From the [illegible]

loved and admired the horse and made fine cavalrymen; in many of the tombs of the Nubian kings at Nuri the skeletons of horses have been found, showing that these fine warriors wished to have their horses with them in the Other World.

The Egyptian **Sailor**. The Nile being the great highway of Egypt, the Egyptians were from the earliest times compelled to be builders of boats, barges, lighters, war-boats, ferries, etc.,

and to be skilled watermen. The gods were supposed to sail over the sky in **boats,** and even the Sun-god Rā had his Morning Boat and Evening Boat. Gods and kings alike made their progress through the country in boats, and the nomarch and the nobleman maintained their private ferry-boat and probably also a house-boat of the type of the modern *dhahabīyah.* The current in the Nile carried boats down the river, but to ascend it a sail, , was necessary. For the transport of granite from Aswān and stone from the other quarries in Upper Egypt large **rafts** were used, or specially broad **lighters. War-boats** carried a crew of about 20 men and a number of armed guards. Seneferu brought large quantities of cedar-wood from Lebanon in sea-going boats, but whether he built them or hired them from the merchants of Kepuna (Byblos) or from the Keftiu (Phoenicians) is not certain. Several kings maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean and a fleet in the Red Sea to bring copper from Sinai and to protect merchant craft. The Mediterranean Fleet of Rameses III co-operated with his land forces and enabled him to win a great victory. The early Egyptians made their river **boats of papyrus,** and worked them with paddles or with steering poles; they were so constructed that when used as punts the bows could be easily thrust up over the river bank, . The goddess Isis sailed unharmed over the lakes in the Delta in a papyrus boat, and a belief existed that crocodiles would not attack anyone

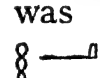
in a boat made of papyrus. A very early form of boat was made by tying two large bundles of reeds together side by side, and the passenger sat between them and worked a sort of paddle. This kind of boat was called  , *sekhnui*, and is in use to-day in Nubia under the name of *tōf*; Mr. J. W. Crowfoot and I each crossed the Nile at Samnah on a *tōf* in 1906. River boats of all periods were shallow and broad in the beam. The crews were described generally as "men of the sail,"  , or "men of the steering pole," ; the sailors in royal service were called  , *āperu*. The **pilot** or look-out man, , sat in the bows, and the **steersman**,  , *ari hemit*, stood in the stern. The texts show that boat accidents were common on the Nile and that many sailors suffered shipwreck, especially in the Cataracts, where submerged rocks were numerous. When the north wind failed and the boat began to float down-stream, the crew were obliged to disembark and, forming a line along the river bank, to **tow** their boat up the river, a laborious and exhausting task. The divine sailors in the boat of Rā were sometimes obliged to tow the boat of their lord in this fashion. The fare of the ferryman was called , *hamu*.

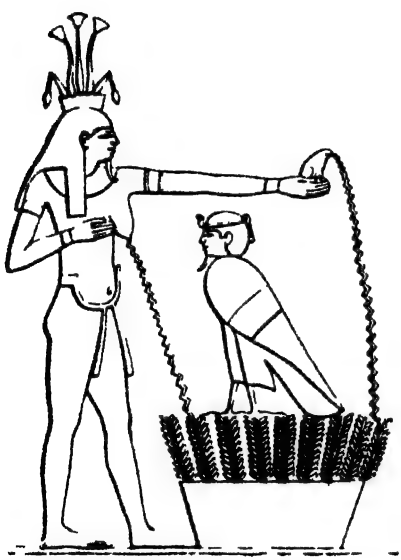
CHAPTER IV

THE EGYPTIANS AT WORK AND AT PLAY

THE prosperity and wealth of Egypt have always depended upon its **agriculture,** and all the business of the country was arranged in accordance with its demands. But agriculture in Egypt depended in turn upon the water supply, and the water supply was derived from the **Nile** and the annual **Inundation,** for there was no rainfall worth consideration, and there were no fresh-water wells in the country, except those that were formed by the infiltration of the waters of the Nile. The Nile carried down from the highlands in the Sūdān the mud which formed the soil of Egypt, which is, as the ancient writers correctly said, "the gift of the Nile." And the Nile is to-day, what it has ever been, the giver of food and life to every living thing in Egypt. This being so, a few facts about this wonderful river may here be given. The Egyptians called it **Ḥāpi,** , from first to last, but the meaning of this name is unknown;

it must have had a meaning, but it was forgotten at a very early period. The primitive Egyptians knew nothing about the source, or rather sources, of the river. Their later descendants wrongly assumed that it was connected with the great celestial ocean, or the sea that surrounds the whole world, and that its springs were under two great rocks near the Island of Philae, at the head of the First Cataract.

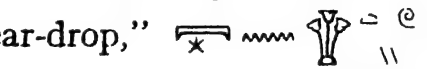
As Egypt was divided into two parts, Taui, , *i.e.* "Two Lands," or the South and the North, so the river was regarded as consisting of two parts, the Nile of the South and the Nile of the North; the former was supposed to begin at the Rock of Senmit near Philae, and the latter at Heliopolis. Under the Vth Dynasty the Nile was believed to come from Kenset, or Nubia. The **god of the Nile** was called Hāpī,  , like the river, and he was always represented in the form of a man with the breasts of a woman, which indicated the god's powers of fertility and nourishment. In a fine hymn to the Nile (British Museum, Sallier



Hāpi, the Nile god of the North, in the form of a man with the breasts of a woman, he has a cluster of lotus plants on his head The frog was a symbol of fertility and new birth and, with the Christian Egyptians of the Resurrection

Papyrus II, No. 10182), which was probably sung at the festival of the Inundation, the people say, "Thou waterest the fields which Rā created, thou givest life unto the flocks and herds, all the land drinks thee when thou descendest in rain from heaven. Thou art beloved of the Earth-god Geb, thou strengthenest the Grain-god Nepra, thou makest prosperous every workshop of Ptah. . . When thou comest the whole land rejoices. Thou art the bringer of food, thou art the mighty one of meat and drink, thou art the creator of all good things. Thou fillest the storehouses, thou heapest high with corn the granaries, and thou hast care for the poor and needy." A little further on the hymn says that the Nile-god cannot be sculptured in stone, he cannot be brought forth from his secret place, for his place is unknown. He is not to be found in the sanctuaries—there is no habitation large enough to hold him—and the mind cannot conceive what his form is like. The name he bears in the Tuat is unknown; he does not make visible his form, and to attempt to imagine what he is like is futile

The principal sources of the Nile are the three great Equatorial Lakes, which are filled by the heavy rains that fall between February and November, namely, **Lake Victoria,** 1,130 metres above sea-level, with an area of 70,000 sq. kilometres, **Lake Albert,** 630 metres above sea-level, with an area of 4,500 sq. kilometres, and **Lake Edward,** with an area of 4,000 sq. kilometres. Its tributaries are the Gazelle River, which flows into it at Lake Nō (west bank),

and the Sobat River, Blue Nile and Atbarā (right bank); north of the Atbarā the Nile has no other tributary. The length of the Nile is 3,473 miles, but if we add the length of the Kagera (375 miles), which flows into Lake Victoria, and the length of the Lake itself (250 miles), as many writers do, the total becomes 4,098 miles. The Egyptians did not know the cause of the **Inundation**, and thought that it was due to the *swelling* of the river, which was the result of the falling of a tear of the goddess Isis into it on a certain night called the "Night of the Tear-drop,"  . The Muslims preserved this tradition and kept their great Nile-festival on the night of the 11th of Paoni, *i.e.* June 17, which they called "Lēlat al-Nuktah" ("Night of the Drop"). But the true cause of the Inundation is the heavy rains that fall in the Sūdān and Abyssinia. The river begins to rise about the middle of June, when the "green water" appears. The Blue Nile is in flood at the end of August, and the Atbarā about the same time. As the result of the floods of these rivers the Nile continues to rise in Egypt until the middle of September, and it attains its highest level in October. It then begins to subside, but rises yet once more, then it sinks steadily until the month of June, when it is again at its lowest level. There are six Cataracts on the Nile: the Sixth is at Shablūkah, the Fifth about 30 miles north of the Atbarā, the Fourth extends from Abu Hamad to Kassingar, the Third and Second lie between Karmah and

Wādī Halfah, and the First extends from Philae to Aswān. The Seven Mouths of the Nile were called by classical writers the Pelusiac, Tanitic, Mendesian, Phatnitic, Sebennytic, Bolbitic and Canopic. The ancient Nile-gauges, or **Nilometers,** cut on the rocks at Samnah under the XIIth Dynasty, show that the floods recorded there were 26 feet higher than any flood of to-day.

The importance of agriculture in Egypt is well illustrated by the oldest **Calendar** used in the country. According to this the year was divided into **three periods,** each of four months, which were called Akhet, Pert and Shemut, and these contained the months of July-October, November February, and March–June respectively. November-February was the **winter** season, and March–June the **summer** season; during the period of the Inundation agricultural work came practically to a standstill. During the early months of the Inundation the whole population of Egypt watched anxiously the rising river until it reached its maximum, for on the height of the Inundation the prosperity of the country depended. A "low Nile" meant that the waters would not rise high enough to water all the cultivated land in the country; crops would be short or light, bread would be dear, and many people would suffer hunger. With a "good Nile" the watering of all the country was possible, and everyone was content; an abnormally "high Nile" was followed by flooding, and the seed was washed out of the ground and man and beast suffered. A succession of "low Niles" always produced **famine,** misery and

ruin to rich and poor alike. An inscription on a rock on the Island of Sāhal in the First Cataract tells of a **seven years' famine** which took place in the reign of Tcheser, a king of the IIIrd Dynasty. "Grain," says the king in his dispatch to Matar, governor of Elephantine, "is very scarce, vegetables are lacking altogether, everything that men eat for food has come to an end, and now every man attacks his neighbour. The men who want to walk cannot move, the child wails, the young man drags his body about, and the hearts of the older men are crushed with despair Their legs give way under them, they sink down on the ground, and they clutch their bodies with their hands [in pain]. The nobles have no counsel to give, and there is nothing to be obtained from the storehouses but wind Everything is in a state of ruin." The Book of Genesis mentions another seven years' famine, and the Arab historians mention several famines of like duration in Egypt. The famine of 1066–1072 nearly ruined the country. A loaf sold for 15 dīnārs (£7 10s.) and an egg for 1 dīnār (10s.). When all the animals were eaten men began to eat each other, and human flesh was sold in public. Passengers were caught in the streets by hooks let down from the windows, drawn up, killed and cooked. During the famine in 1201 people ate human flesh habitually. Parents killed and ate their children, and a wife was found eating her husband raw. The graves were ransacked for food (Lane Poole, *Middle Ages*, pp. 146, 216). We have no record of the rise of the Nile flood which, in ancient times, was necessary

for the well-being of the whole country, but to-day, if the rise be between 25 feet and 26½ feet, the whole country can be watered. The **Nilometer** is a pillar or slab, standing in a sort of well, on which is cut a scale divided into cubits (the cubit = 21⅓ inches) and *kīrāts* (the *kīrāt* = $\frac{1}{24}$th part of a cubit). There was a very old Nilometer at Memphis, and Strabo and Plutarch mention another famous Nile-gauge at Elephantine.

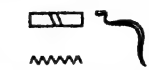
We may now briefly consider what steps the Egyptians took in order to obtain the greatest benefit from the Nile flood. Long before it arrived every town and village contributed its number of men to clear out the main and subsidiary canals, and to heap up dykes, which would serve not only to confine the waters within safe bounds, but would also serve as highways during the Inundation on which men and beasts could travel from place to place. In many places the banks of the Nile had to be strengthened, and embankments thrown up, and in certain parts of Upper Egypt, where the distance between the river and the mountains was considerable, large **Basins** to catch and hold the waters of the flood as they rushed northwards had to be constructed. These basins were sometimes more than one mile long; their width varied according to the width of the river bank. Their sides were thick, solid, sloping embankments from 12 to 20 feet high, and openings were left in their southern ends. When the flood waters caught in them were at their greatest height the openings were blocked up, and each basin thus contained a vast quantity

of water which would be available for irrigation purposes after the flood had subsided. When needed on the neighbouring ground it was let out by degrees, and when the basin was nearly empty grain was sown in the shallow water, and the crop from it grew up and matured without further watering. The bottom of the basin was covered with a layer of the rich fertile mud that was brought down into the Nile from the mountains and forests of Abyssinia by the Blue Nile and the Atbarā. The soil of Egypt is composed of this mud-deposit, and it is to the thin layer of mud that is added to it annually during the Inundation that it owes its fertility. The Nile is now depositing mud on its bed at the rate of nearly four inches in a century; the thickness of the mud soil of Egypt at Zakāzīk in the Delta is about 110 feet. Muhammad 'Alī introduced a system of Perennial Irrigation into the Delta, and now the Basin System is practically abolished. The **area** of Egypt is about 12,000 sq. miles, but the area of the cultivable land has always varied with the annual Inundation; it increased during a "high" Nile and decreased during a "low" one. The land covered by the Nile deposit was about 7,250,000 acres, but since the building of the **Aswān Dam**[1] 2,000,000 more acres have been irrigated.

[1] The Dam is built across the valley at the head of the First Cataract, north of Philae; the valley is 2,185 yards wide. The Dam holds up water to the level of 348 feet above sea-level, and its storage capacity is estimated at 37,612,000,000 cubic feet. It is filled during the months December–February, and the water is discharged during the months of May, June and July. Between low and high Nile the river rises 26 feet.

From what has been said above it will be seen that the most important **work** to be done in Ancient Egypt was in connection with agriculture, and it seems very probable that the bulk of the population was employed in it. The king's officials watched over the irrigation of the royal estates, the priests safeguarded the interests of the temples, or god-houses, the governor of each of the 42 nomes, or districts, into which Egypt was divided, took care that all the public works in connection with the river were properly done, and the peasant farmer made ready his plots with anxious care. And in every case the slave did most of the work. Most of the seed was sown whilst the water of the Nile flood was several inches deep, and needed no further attention, and that which was sown in the soft mud was generally trodden in by goats. When it was necessary to break up light land the **hoe**, , was used, heavy land required a **plough**, , which was drawn by oxen, In reaping the cutting instrument was used, and this took the place of the flint knives of early times. The threshing of the grain was done by oxen on a threshing-floor somewhat of this shape . The preparation of the soil intended for certain crops was carefully studied, and the merits of **top-dressing** were well understood. At the present day the dust from the ruins of ancient and ruined buildings is eagerly sought for by the natives to lay on their fields, and it is most probable that the modern Egyptians are merely following in the steps of their ancestors.

The **principal crops** were wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, vetches, lupins, clover, flax, cotton, cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions and papyrus. In certain parts of Egypt where there was an abundant water supply there were large **vegetable gardens,** in which most of the vegetables known to the modern Egyptians, and beloved by them, were grown. In all periods the Egyptian has eaten largely of vegetables. And as mention is made in the medical papyri of tinctures and extracts and oils of certain plants, it is clear that the **Physic Garden** was not unknown to the Egyptians, and that a large number of plants were grown because they were believed to possess medicinal properties. Even at the present day in the purely native markets of Egypt there will be found an old man (or woman) squatting on the ground with a series of little bowls laid out before him containing the dried seeds and leaves of a large number of medicinal plants and woods. With these are various kinds of powders, lead, antimony and copper, and grease for the eyes, and portions of the dried bodies of crocodiles and other reptiles which are supposed to possess emetic, purgative and aphrodisiac properties. **Arboriculture** in our sense of the word did not exist in Egypt, and exotic trees were only to be found in royal gardens or in the gardens attached to the temples of great gods like Amen-Rā at Thebes. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty certain trees were brought to Egypt from Southern Arabia, and Punt, and Western Asia, and planted in the palace grounds at Thebes, but the

Egyptians generally preferred to grow trees from which they obtained some solid advantage. The principal trees known to the ancient Egyptians were the thorny **acacia,** , in Egyptian  , *shentch,* the **date palm,** , *bener,* the **dūm palm,** which flourished best in the southern part of Upper Egypt, the **sycamore,** the **pomegranate,** two or three species of **tamarisks,** the **mulberry,** the **carob, Christ's thorn,** in Egyptian . *nebes,* the **persea,** , the **fig tree** and the **oil tree.**

So long as the waters of the Nile flood covered the land the irrigation of the fields and gardens was comparatively easy, for the water flowed into every channel prepared for it, even to the edge of the desert. But when "the land had come forth," *i.e.* when all the water had run off from it, the watering of the fields and gardens became a very serious matter. The Egyptians had no pumps and no mechanical help for watering purposes, and every gallon of water required had literally to be lifted up out of the river and poured upon the land. As the river fell the "lift" became longer, and the work became harder, especially in Upper Egypt where the Nile banks are very high. In a painting on the wall of a tomb of the XVIIIth Dynasty (*see* p. 234), we see a man drawing water from a hole in the river bank into which the water of the river had flowed. The skin bucket was attached by a cord to the

thin end of a long heavy pole, which worked on a pivot in two stout posts driven into the top of the bank. To fill his bucket with water the man drew down the thin end of the pole, and when he had filled it he allowed the end to rise, and the heavy end of it, acting as a weight, lifted up the bucket of water until it reached the level of the channel in the side of the bank, when he tilted out the water in it into the channel, and the water ran on to the plot to be irrigated. This kind of water-raising machine has been in use for thousands of years in Egypt, and the **Shādūf**, which the modern Egyptians use, closely resembles it. The heavy end of the long pole is now often made heavier by plastering it with several hundredweights of Nile mud, especially when the river is very low and greater leverage is required. When the Nile bank is very high it is often necessary to construct a second Shādūf half-way down the bank, and two men are required to work each Shādūf. Whether the ancient Egyptians knew of the **water-wheel** similar to the modern Sākīyah is uncertain, but it is very probable that they had a somewhat similar water-raising contrivance. In the Sākīyah an endless rope passes over the wheel, and to this is attached a series of earthenware pots, arranged at regular intervals, which, as the wheel revolves, dip into a pool, fed by the river, at the bottom of the cutting in the bank, and become full, and when they reach the trough on the top of the bank they empty themselves, one after the other, into it. The wheel is made to turn by means of a cog-wheel arrangement

which is kept in motion by an ox or an ass or a camel, or even by a man's wives.

The care of the **live stock** on the estates of the king and the temples and the nobles was also a very important work, and provided occupation for large numbers of peasants and slaves all over the country. The breeding and rearing of cattle were well understood by the Egyptians, and the paintings in the tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms attest the importance that was attached by noblemen to the possession of large herds of cattle. One painting even tells us the numbers of the cattle which an official of the Vth Dynasty possessed, viz., 834 oxen, 220 cows and calves, 760 asses, 2,234 goats, and 674 sheep. Under the Old Kingdom two kinds of **sheep** were known, viz., the sheep with spreading horns, , which was the symbol of the god Khnem, , and was worshipped by the people of the First Cataract, and the sheep with the horns curled by the side of its head, , which was the symbol of Amen or Amen-Rā. The **bull,** , because of his strength and fertility was worshipped at a very early period, and kings were proud to be called "the mighty bull, trampler on his enemies." Even at the present time many an African king is addressed as "Mighty Bull, Bull of bulls" (*see* page 289). The bull was slaughtered and offered as a sacrifice to the gods. The **ox,** , did much of the hauling and transport on the farms, and the **cow,** , that was a good "milker" was

treasured, for the Africans love milk. **Goats,** , which are often counted with the sheep, were kept in large numbers, and the **pig,** , was tolerably common. The **ass,** , was bred on all large farms for transport purposes; it, like the pig, was probably eaten by the slaves and "swamp-dwellers."

The **herdsmen** belonged to the slave and peasant classes, and were probably, as in many parts of Africa at the present day, mentally or physically deficient. Attached to every herd was an official who watched the feeding of the cattle, and who understood how to treat them medically and to administer boluses, and to prescribe special kinds of food when necessary. The greatest care was taken of cows and sheep that were with young, and according to Diodorus sheep lambed twice a year. Herdsmen were skilled in the **domestication of wild animals and birds,** which were brought to the farms by the hunters and fowlers. Among the animals represented are the ibex, the gazelle, the oryx, the antelope, and among birds the pigeon, the heron, the crane, the duck, and the goose. **Goose-farms** existed in many parts of Egypt, and one district, Chenoboskia, derived its name from the goose-pens for which it was famous. **Bee-keeping** was common, for **honey,** , *bit*, was used in making a kind of **mead** and in medicine, and in later times for embalming the dead, and **wax** was valuable for making amulets, and figures

of the four Sons of Horus, and the models of men and animals that were burnt during the performance of magical ceremonies. It was sometimes used in mummifying the dead, and in ancient times in Persia mummies were always made with wax; the word "mummy" means a body that has been treated with wax, though it is often applied to bodies that have been preserved with bitumen. The sign that appears in the royal title is commonly regarded as a **bee,** , *āff, i.e.* "fly," or the "honey fly," , but it more probably represents a **wasp** or **hornet.** As keepers of **poultry** the Egyptians won the admiration of classical writers, and Diodorus (i. 74) says that they used to hatch out large numbers of birds by an artificial process, *i.e.* by the use of the **incubator,** which did away with the necessity of the mother-birds sitting on their eggs. On this matter the inscriptions tell us nothing.

The artisan class formed a comparatively small part of the population of Ancient Egypt, and the most important handicrafts were those of :—

The **Potter.** The pre-dynastic Egyptians succeeded in making very graceful **pottery** without the help of the wheel, the use of which does not seem to have become general until the Dynastic Period. The earliest known coloured pottery is usually red and black, but this was

preceded by bowls and pots in monochrome. The art of burnishing was known, as the black, red, and parti-coloured vessels testify. The buff-coloured, unburnished pottery is frequently decorated with designs in red, in which human beings, animals of the antelope class, ostriches, boats with and without sails, mountains and water, are represented. All these vary in size and frequently in shape, and it is quite clear that the potter made no attempt to standardize his work, and that the size and shape of the vessels depended upon the quality, the available quantity of material, and his individual fancy. Some of the pots made during the early period appear to be copies of stone vessels. Under the Old Kingdom many funerary vessels were made of polished red ware, and this reappears in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. The potter often copied the shapes of vessels from Western Asia and elsewhere. The black ware bowls and vessels ornamented with linear designs inlaid with lime, which are often seen in collections, belong to the Hyksos Period, and the false-necked vases, commonly known as "Bügel-kannen," were imported into Egypt from Greece. A considerable amount of Nubian pottery found its way into Egypt under the Middle Kingdom, and the finest examples of what may be called "egg-shell" pottery were made on the Island of Meroë in the Sūdān. The Egyptian potter usually confined himself to making the vessels that were most needed in every-day life—bowls, saucers, flasks for oil and unguents, large wine-jars, oil-jars, water-jars (like the modern *zīr*),

and huge amphorae and vessels in which to store grain. Unlike the Greek, he rarely attempted to invent new forms and shapes, but from first to last was content to follow native custom. He made vessels to be useful, not ornamental, and most variations in their shape or decoration were due to foreign influence. A good idea of the general character of Egyptian pottery may be obtained by examining the fine collection exhibited in the Sixth Egyptian Room of the British Museum; here will be found specimens of all periods, from about 3,500 B.C. to the Meroitic Period.

The **Brickmaker**. The manufacture of **bricks** gave employment to a great number of slaves and others, for almost every building in Egypt, with the exception of the temple, which was of stone, was made of unbaked bricks. The muddy soil of Egypt was particularly suitable for brickmaking, for it was free from stones and could be easily mixed with water and kneaded with the hands into a paste of the necessary consistency. A mass of paste was thrust into a wooden mould of the size of the brick required and the top of it smoothed with a flat stick, and when the brick was dry enough to take out of the mould it was laid in a row with others on the ground to dry in the sun; in a day or two it was ready for use. Bricks varied in size from 10 to 15 inches in length, from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and from 5 to 6 inches in thickness; some of the bricks made under the New Kingdom have greater dimensions. Many bricks have, like those of Babylonia, a king's

names stamped upon them, and some have thought that such were made by the king's brick-makers for sale to the public. Burnt or **kiln-baked bricks** are not common in Egypt, owing to the scarcity of wood or other material for burning.

The **Weaver.** The products of the looms of Egypt have been famous throughout the world from the earliest times, and **linen, cotton** and **woollen fabrics** must have formed very important items in her export trade. The stalks of flax were soaked in water until the rind became loose, when they were taken out and dried and beaten with mallets on stone slabs. The outer covering of the stalk was made into **lamp wicks,** and the inner fibres were combed out with iron hooks and made into **yarn,** which before being woven into cloth was wetted and beaten with a stone. The greatest care was taken to clean the flax-fibres by heckling them with a large wooden comb (*see* B.M. Nos. 18182, 26740). The yarn was spun by hand, and both women and men were adepts in the use of the **spindle,** which was usually made of wood and had a head made of some heavier material. Two sorts of looms were known, the upright and the horizontal. Linen cloth was calendered by means of wooden rods rubbed over it, and to smooth garments after washing they were rubbed and pressed with a wooden tool which closely resembles a plasterer's wall smoother. Then, as now, linen apparel was worn by those who could afford it or preferred it to wool and cotton, but the swathings of mummies were always

made of linen. Under the New Kingdom the city of Apu, the modern Akhmīm, in Upper Egypt, was famous for its textiles, and the Coptic linen weavers to-day perpetuate its ancient reputation. The linen of Pelusium was also famous, and Signor Lumbroso believes that the French word *blouse* is derived from the name of that city. **Cotton** was grown in Upper Egypt, and cotton garments were worn by all classes of people, but it seems that large quantities of cotton were imported into Egypt from the districts near the River Khābūr in exchange for linen fabrics. The weaving of garments made of **wool** obtained among the peasant classes, but the pieces of woollen cloth that have been found in the tombs prove that officials and even priests sometimes wore such.

The **Carpenter** and **Joiner**. The handicraft of **working in wood** was a very general one and, though little wood was grown in Egypt, the carpenter readily found employment. Though there were no wooden floors and no wooden window-frames and sashes in the houses, and the furniture was scanty in most of them, the Egyptians found the carpenter a necessity in almost all their trades. The **woods** principally used by him were the **sycamore-fig**, from which he made coffins, doors, large tables, funerary coffers, etc.; the **acacia** or **tamarisk**, which, on account of its close grain and hardness, he used for masts of boats, weapons, articles of furniture, etc.; **ebony**, imported in logs from the Sūdān, and used for making or inlaying ornamental boxes for the toilet, jewel-cabinets, etc.;

and **cedar,** imported from the Lebanon in large quantities, and used for making the great barges of the gods. Tough woods obtained from the trees in the deserts, and various kinds of **deal,** thought to have been imported from Southern Europe, were also used. The art of **veneering** was known, and inlaying with ivory or glazed porcelain was commonly practised, also a species of **dovetailing** by means of wooden pegs driven through the mitred parts of the sides and ends of boxes. The method of closing coffins and sarcophagi by inserting tongues of wood into slots in the cover and the coffin and driving pegs through them was found to be very effective The pre-dynastic carpenter used a **saw** and a **chopper** made of flint; the former was a long flat slice of flint with a beautifully serrated edge, and the latter had a handle, something like . Later both these tools were made of copper or bronze. Other large tools were the **axe,** , and an **adze,** , to the fore part of which was attached by leather thongs a sort of flat chisel made of copper; the former was used for splitting wood, and the latter for smoothing it, thus in a way serving as a plane. Holes for pegs were made with a **borer,** and slotting work was done with a **mallet** and **chisel.** This mallet was different in shape from that used by the stone-mason. The **plane** was unknown, and was practically unnecessary, for wooden surfaces were smoothed by rubbing with stones. The **drill** was used in working hard woods, and was worked with a cord.

The **Metal-worker.** The principal metals known to the Egyptians were **gold,** , *nub*, **silver,** , *nub hetch, i e.* "white gold," **electron,** , *tchām*, a mixture of gold and silver, or perhaps the pale gold from the Sūdān, **copper,** , *hemt*, **iron,** , *baa*, **lead,** , *tchhet*, and **tin,** , *tran*. **Gold** was brought from the Sūdān and from parts of the East Coast of Africa, and from the Eastern Desert. Like honey and wax, it was supposed to possess some special but undefined property, and the blood of the Sun-god was thought to be made of gold. Several qualities of gold were distinguished, the finest and purest being called *katam*, . It was worked into ornaments in the earliest times, and under the Middle and New Kingdoms very large quantities were used. The mummies of some of the kings were placed in thick gold sheaths, and the funerary vessels—bowls, cups, saucers—of kings like Thothmes III were made of solid gold. As specimens of massive gold work, the jewellery from Dahshūr and the vessels found in the coffin of Queen Aah-hetep may be mentioned. Alluvial gold came chiefly from the Sūdān, gold in the form of rings came from Somaliland and perhaps also from Arabia and Asia. **Silver** was known to the Neolithic Egyptians, and a few of their ornaments made

of it have been found. **Copper** was brought in Neolithic times from the ancient mines in the Wādī Maghārah and from Sarābīt al-Khādīm in the Peninsula of Sinai, and in dynastic times from Cyprus and Western Asia. It is possible that the copper deposits near Lake Tanganyika were worked by the Sūdānī tribes. **Iron** was known to the people of the Sūdān at a very early period, and in the Neolithic Period it was imported into Egypt in small quantities. Objects made of it have been found in graves of all periods of dynastic history, but the use of iron never became general. Its red-coloured rust caused the Egyptians to associate it with Set, , the god of Evil, whose bones were said to be made of iron. The use of **tin** as an alloy for copper was well known to the dynastic Egyptians, for analyses have shown that it exists in **bronze** vessels of every kind, workmen's tools and implements, statues, etc. The large bronze statues of Pepi I and his brother, now in the Cairo Museum, prove that the coppersmiths of the Old Kingdom were very capable handicraftsmen. **Lead** was known to the Neolithic Egyptians, but was little used in the Dynastic Period, except in connection with magical rites; in late times lead was used for seals.

The **Quarryman** and **Stone-mason.** The tombs and funerary monuments and statues, and the Pyramids of Gīzah, Sakkārah and Mēdūm prove that the quarrymen and stone-masons were great masters of their crafts, and

PLATE V

The Great Pyramid at Gizah, the tomb of Khufu, a King of the IVth Dynasty. In the foreground is the Sphinx, the age of which is unknown.

suggest that they formed a very numerous and important section of the artisan classes. The principal **quarries** were those of Tura, opposite Memphis, Kes, in Middle Egypt, Wādī Hammāmāt, those near Abydos and at Jabal Silsilah, Syene, and there were quarries in many parts of Nubia. The stones mostly quarried were fine white **limestone, alabaster, sandstone,** both yellowish limestone and crystalline limestone, red, grey and black **granite, basalt, diorite,** and **porphyry.** For inlaid work **lapis-lazuli, malachite, carnelian, sard,** red, yellow and black **jasper,** were commonly used. The stone blocks were detached from their bed by driving wedges into a series of small rectangular slots cut in a row in the rock to the depth of three or four inches. The modern quarrymen used to make their wedges of the wood of the palm-tree and moisten them with water, and in swelling the wedges burst away the block required. That this was the method followed by the ancient Egyptians is proved by the undetached granite obelisk now lying in the quarry at Aswān. The blocks thus quarried were roughly dressed and shaped with flint and copper scrapers and chisels and stood ready for removal. When it was required to take them down to the river for transport to the site where they were to be used, they were hauled on **sledges** by men with ropes, and then sledge and block were dragged up or down inclined planes to the river. Cranes and derricks and even " sheer " legs were unknown to the Egyptians, and it is doubtful if they were acquainted with the **lever.**

The only mechanical means they had for lifting stones into their positions in a building was a sort of **cradle,** two models of which (from the tomb of Queen Hatshepsut) are in the British Museum (Nos. 26276, 54991). The final dressing of the blocks when in position was done by a broad copper chisel, which was tied on the end of a wooden handle held horizontally. The stone-mason's **mallet** somewhat resembled those now in use among Western nations.

The handicrafts of the artisans briefly enumerated above may be described as the "key industries" of Ancient Egypt; other important trades and professions were those of the boat-builder, the wagon-maker and wheelwright, the furniture-maker, the worker in ivory and precious woods, the jeweller, the lapidary, the sculptor, the carver of bas-reliefs, the tanner and worker in leather, the sandal-maker, the coffin-maker, the painter and decorator, the builder, the armourer, the papyrus-maker, the basket-maker, the turner, the butcher, baker, confectioner, and brewer.

THE EGYPTIANS AT PLAY

The average Egyptian was by nature a cheerful, joyous person, fond of amusement and pleasure, and his greatest desire was to "make a good day," , *i.e.* to eat, drink, and be merry. The pleasures and amusements of the peasant and field-labourer and slave must have been

very few and inexpensive. Then, as now, they loved to assemble in the "house of beer," which was the equivalent of the modern café or wine-shop, and gossip with their friends, and many statements in the papyri containing moral aphorisms suggest that the Egyptians were given to **drunkenness.** Whether they were addicted to the use of **narcotics** like opium or hashīsh is uncertain, but it is probable that their **sweet beer** contained an infusion of some plant with soporific qualities. **Acrobats,** conjurers and gymnasts, and **dancing women,** were popular visitors in every town and village, and each community maintained its local troupe of performers. These were employed at weddings and on festal occasions, and they even accompanied funeral processions to the doors of the tombs, where they gave exhibitions of their skill to amuse the general body of the friends and mourners of the deceased, whilst the solemn funerary rites and ceremonies connected with the deposit of the body in the tomb were being performed. The **buffoon** was as popular in Ancient as in Modern Egypt, and no local entertainment was complete without the services of the youth who played a single or double **reed-pipe** and sang songs (probably of an amorous character), and the **story-teller** (the Muslim *rāwīyah*). Whether the early Egyptians practised **dancing** as much as the Sūdānī tribes is not known, but we may be sure that when the Nubian peoples came into Egypt as soldiers and watchmen they brought their own tribal dances with them, and that in dancing their steps were

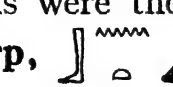
regulated by the beat of some kind of **drum** like the modern *darabuka* and by the **clapping of hands.** Children, as we have seen, played with **balls,** and **toys** and **dolls** of various kinds, and youths amused themselves with bows and arrows, wrestling, etc. The Egyptians of all classes played many games of chance and of skill, but nothing is known of the systems on which they were played. The oldest and the favourite of these was **draughts** (*not* chess, as was once thought), and the hieroglyph , which represents a draught-board with its pieces arranged on it, and which is found in inscriptions of the earliest period, shows that this game is as old, at least, as dynastic civilization. The draught-boards preserved in our museums differ considerably in the arrangement and number of the squares on them, and this fact suggests that the rules and the method of playing the game varied at different periods. The pieces used by the players were at first pebbles or bits of stone, but later they took the form , and later still the tops of the pieces were made in the form of animals' heads (*see* the set of draughtsmen in the British Museum, No. 24668, some with the head of Bes and others with the head of Anubis). The **draught-board** was as much a necessity for the dead as for the living, and the tombs have yielded many fine draught-boards and sets of pieces, made of ebony inlaid with ivory, the squares being formed sometimes by pieces of beautiful light-blue Egyptian porcelain. In the Vignette to Chap. xvii of the Book of the

Dead we see the deceased seated in a bower in festal attire and "playing at draughts," .

Another popular game was that in which the two players sat facing each other and tried to guess the number of fingers which each in turn thrust out. It was, and still is, common in the East, and may have been the ancestor of the Roman game called "micare digitis" and the Italian game of **mora** or morra. In very early times the **serpent-game** was popular. The board, or stone slab, had on it a representation of a huge coiled serpent, and the pieces were in the forms of lions, dogs, and little balls; how the game was played is not known. From first to last the Egyptians loved **music,** if we may be allowed to use this word to describe their vocal and instrumental efforts. Whether they had written **notation** cannot be said—probably not—and none has so far been found. Certainly modern Central African tribes, who are capable, practical musicians, have none. The Egyptian was a singer by nature. The child sang his lessons, the peasant sang as he worked on the farm, the boatman sang, the fisherman sang, the king and his nobles maintained singing men and singing women, many of whom were blind, and the temples had their great **choirs** to sing litanies and hymns to the gods. Wherever possible singers were accompanied by musical instruments. **Rhyme** was unknown, but **rhythm** was carefully studied and **time** was rigidly marked, either by the clapping of hands

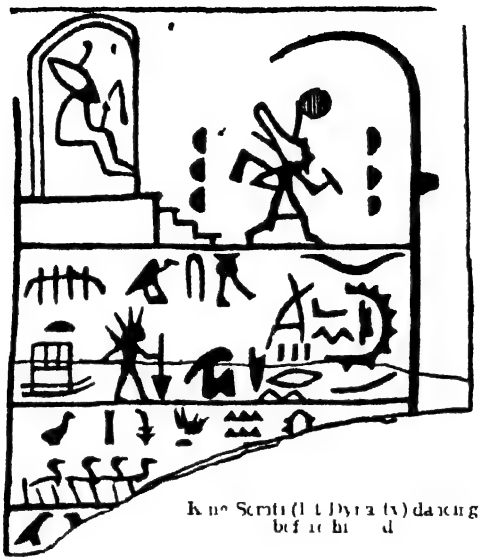
or the beat of a drum of some kind. The earliest songs consisted of short statements in two or three words, often repeated, and often followed by a jingle of meaningless words; compare the modern boatmen's "ya bāb

The large Egyptian Harp.

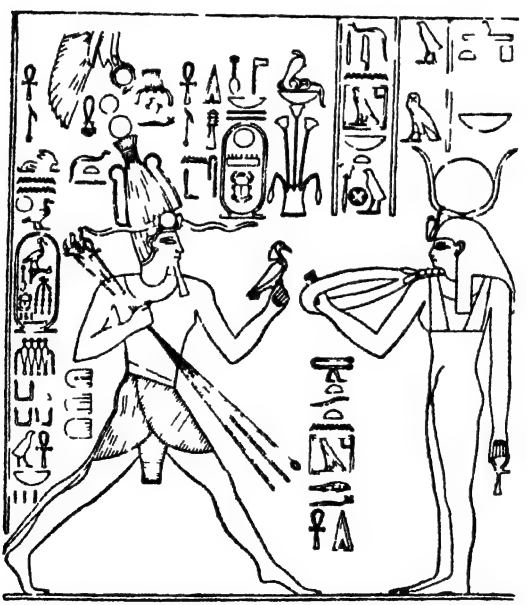
an-nāb." From these attempts at poetical composition **folk-songs** arose; it is probable that the tunes to which they were sung became traditional. The principal musical instruments known to the Egyptians were the **reed-pipe,** , *sebat*, the **harp,**  , *bent*, the

small portable harp, introduced probably from Syria under the New Kingdom; the **Nefer,** , the **drum** or **tambourine,** , *teben*, , *ser*, and , *teb*, and clappers or castanets, , *ahui*, or , *nathakhi*, and **cymbals.** The last-named came into use under the New Kingdom. All these instruments were used for secular rejoicings, but there was one instrument the use of which seems to have been reserved for religious services in the temples, viz., the **sistrum,** , or , called **seshesh,** . This consisted of a broad band of copper, bent almost double, and fixed in a rounded handle of wood or copper, flattened at one end and decorated with heads of Hathor. Through holes drilled in both sides of the copper band bent wires, , were inserted, and when the instrument was shaken rapidly the wires rattled and produced sharp, ringing noises, which were supposed to drive away devils. The very shape of the wires that rattled had a magical significance.

Dancing appears to have been primarily a religious exercise, by means of which the dancer gave expression to his feelings of gratitude towards the gods and his worship of them. Already, under the Ist Dynasty, on great occasions the king danced before his god, and the man who knew how to dance the "dance of the god" was an honoured and protected person.



King Seti (1st Dynasty) dancing before Hathor

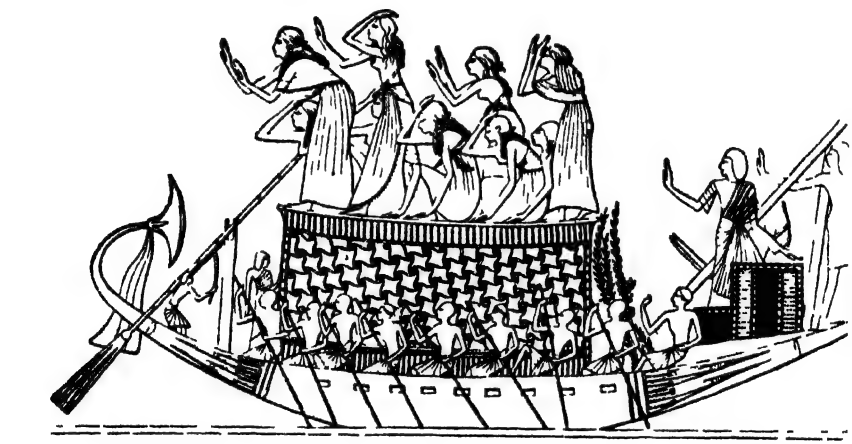


King Thothmes III, XVIIIth Dynasty, dancing before the goddess Hathor

During the processions made by the gods in their boats or shrines, and during royal progresses, it was the duty of everyone to dance. The dance at a funeral was different from the ordinary dance, and it probably dates from predynastic times. Whether special dances like the puberty dance, the initiation dance, the marriage dance and the war dance of the Sūdānī tribes were known to the Egyptians is uncertain. The monuments show that dancing men and women wore little more than loin-cloths, and it seems as if their movements consisted of series of short, sharp jerkings of the legs and arms, and leaping into the air. Under the New Kingdom the character of dancing changed greatly, and the ornaments of the women and the dressing of their hair, and the general *abandon* of their movements, show that the dancing women of the period were the equivalents of the professional dancing women of Kana in Upper Egypt and Cairo to-day. They wore long diaphanous garments which reached to the ankles, and beat tambourines and rattled castanets.

The nobles amused themselves by giving banquets and entertainments to each other, and the paintings in the tombs give us a very good idea as to the way in which they were conducted. The guests, arrayed in festal garments, with plenty of scented grease on their heads and (if women) flowers in their hair, sat on ebony and ivory stools or chairs, and ate course after course of meats, vegetables, and sweetmeats, and drank large quantities of beer sweetened with honey and wine. The host, if a

wealthy man, gave necklaces and other ornaments, and flowers, in wreaths or garlands, to the ladies, and the servants brought round cups of wine at frequent intervals. The stands in the hall were loaded with fruits and flowers, the perfume of which filled the air, and meanwhile the band, *i.e.* players on reed-pipes and flutes and hand-harps, discoursed sweet music and accompanied singers, both male and female.



A funerary barge with women beating their heads in token of their grief, and singing dirges for the dead. The barge is supposed to be crossing from the east to the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, where the great cemeteries were situated.

Among the selection of songs sung on such occasions was a **dirge,** the object of which was to remind the host and his guests that, however much they were enjoying themselves at that moment, the day would assuredly come when they must die; in some cases, to drive this lesson home into the minds of the company, the host had a mummy on a sledge drawn through the dining-hall. And whilst mirth and laughter filled the hall and the wine-cup was circulating,

through the openings in the walls, which served as windows, came the words of the dirge, which were addressed by a famous performer on the harp to Antuf, a king of the XIth Dynasty :—

" O beneficent Prince, it is a decree,
And what hath been ordained by this decree is good :
That the bodies of men shall pass away and disappear,
And that others shall abide [in succession to them].
I have heard the words of Imhetep[1] and Hertataf,[2]
Which, because they wrote them, are treasured beyond everything.
Consider what hath happened to their tombs :
Their walls have been thrown down,
Their places can no longer be seen ;
It is just as if they had never existed.
[And consider also] none cometh from where they are
To describe to us their state,
Or to tell us of their surroundings,
Or to comfort our hearts,
Or to guide us to the place whither they have gone.
Anoint thy head with scented unguents,
Array thyself in apparel made of byssus,
Steep thy body in precious perfumes,

[1] A great scribe, physician and architect who flourished under Tcheser, a king of the IIIrd Dynasty.

[2] Son of Khufu, builder of the Great Pyramid at Gizah.

Which are indeed the emanations of the gods.
Occupy thyself with thy pleasure day by day [and]
Cease not to search out enjoyment for thyself.
Man is not permitted to carry his goods away with him.
Never hath existed the man who, once departed,
Was able to return to earth again.
Follow thine heart's desire,
Search out happiness for thyself,
Order thy affairs on earth so that they may
Minister to the desire of thy heart.
For at length the day of lamentation shall come,
When the Still-heart (*i.e.* the dead) shall not hear the lamentations,
And the cries of grief shall never make to beat
Again the heart of him that is in the grave.
[Therefore] comfort thy heart, forget these things.
The best thing for thee to do for thyself is to
Seek to attain thy heart's desire as long as thou livest."

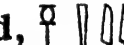
The wall-paintings in the tombs show that Egyptian noblemen and high officials sometimes amused themselves with **hunting** and **fishing**, but it must be admitted that evidence is wanting that they did so because they were keen lovers

of those sports. Some of the kings of Egypt seem to have been sportsmen in the true sense of the word, for Thothmes III, when in Northern Syria, "hunted 120 elephants" and very nearly

The Nomarch Khnemu hetep spearing fish in the marshes of Egypt In the lower register we see the boatmen playing games and amusing themselves From a tomb at Beni Hasan XIIth Dynasty

lost his life on one occasion, and in one week, during the second year of his reign, Amenhetep III slew with his own hand 96 wild cattle out of a herd of 190, and during the first ten years of his reign shot 102 fierce lions. And Thothmes IV

was out in the desert near Memphis shooting lions and gazelle on the day when the god of the Sphinx appeared to him during his after-dinner sleep. Many pictures show us noblemen fishing and **fowling** in the swamps and marshes of Egypt, but there are none that suggest that any of them went to the deserts and forest fastnesses in the Sūdān where the lion, the leopard, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus and other big game live.

The early Egyptians hunted the **lion,** , *ma-hesa,* but he was usually caught by enticing him to a place where some living animal was tethered: whilst the lion was occupied with his prey the hunters and their dogs attacked him. The Egyptians admired the lion greatly and found a way to tame him, and in the Westcar Papyrus we read of a magician who could make a lion follow him like a dog. Like the late Sultān of Maskat, Rameses II had a pet lion that drove with him in his war-chariot and attacked the foe. Other wild animals hunted were the **hyena,** the **panther,** and the **leopard,**  , *abi,* and the skin of the last-named formed an important article of priestly attire. The leopard seems to have been regarded as a typhonic animal, but whether the Egyptians thought that the living and the dead sometimes assumed the form of a leopard, as many Sūdānī tribes do at the present time, is not certain. The **rhinoceros,** , the

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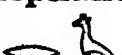
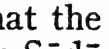
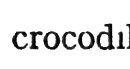
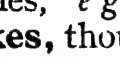
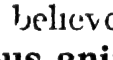
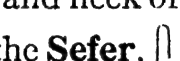
elephant, , or , *abu*, the **giraffe**,  , *ser*, were well known to the Egyptians, and the elephant was hunted and killed for the sake of his tusks at a very early period. The Vignette of Chap. xxviii of the Book of the Dead in the Papyrus of Nefer-ubenef suggests that the existence of large **anthropoid apes** in the Sūdān was known to the Egyptians. The **hippopotamus**,  , *tebt*, was common in Egypt as well as in the Sūdān, and it was frequently speared with harpoons, and probably was eaten. This beast was tolerated in early days because it was supposed to be of a benevolent disposition, but in the late period it was regarded as the incarnation of all evil. In the days of Abbā Benus a hippopotamus used to come and trample down and eat the crops of a certain monastery, but when the Abbā in a gentle voice adjured it to depart in the Name of Christ, the animal went away and was no more seen (Palladius, *Paradise of the Fathers*, i. 337). It is said that the last hippopotamus in Egypt was killed at Girgā, in Middle Egypt, in the latter half of the XVIIth century. Strangely enough the **crocodile**, , *emsuh*, probably one possessing certain marks, was protected and worshipped as a god, and his dead body was embalmed and preserved carefully. Some of the modern Sūdānī tribes revered this creature, and a sacred crocodile was living in a tank at Khartūm as late as 1838. The ordinary

crocodile was ruthlessly killed whenever opportunity offered, but certain parts of his body were dried and powdered and used in medicine, and even to-day crocodile dust is eaten as an aphrodisiac. The Tepi crocodile,  , seems to have been a peculiarly destructive creature.

The farmer suffered greatly from the attacks of **wolves, foxes, jackals** and **wild dogs**, and these were caught and killed; many noxious reptiles, *e g.* the **scorpion** and venomous **snakes,** though regarded as incarnations of gods and goddesses, were killed whenever possible. The two reptiles most dreaded were the *cerastes*, or horned **viper**, , and the **cobra,** or hooded asp,  , *uatchit.* Like many other ancient nations the Egyptians believed that a number of composite or **fabulous animals** lived in the deserts; among these were —the **Setcha,** , which has the head and neck of a serpent and the body of a leopard; the **Sefer,**  , which has an eagle's head and a lion's body, from the back of which grow a pair of wings; the **Sag,**  , which has the head of a hawk, and a body of which the fore-part is that of a lion, and the hind part that of a horse with a tail terminating in a lotus flower, , and with eight teats; a leopard with a human head and a pair of wings growing out of the back; the **Sha,** , which

has long square ears, directed backwards like the animal of **Set,** ; the **Gryphon,** , and the man-headed lion or **Sphinx,** . The monster **Ammit**, or Eater of the Dead, was part crocodile, part lion, and part hippopotamus.[1]

[1] Two years ago, when the contents of the tomb of Tutānkhamen were being discussed, it was asserted by some writers that the couches had been sent to Egypt as gifts by Mesopotamian kings, and that the method followed in their construction was of Mesopotamian origin. To this statement I objected in a little book on Tutānkhamen, and I showed that the couches were of Egyptian origin and that the beast represented by them was Āmmit. In his book, *A Century of Excavation in the Land of the Pharaohs*, the writer refers to this matter and quotes Sir Flinders Petrie to show that my view was incorrect, but unfortunately this eminent authority, who is no Assyriologist, has made a serious mistake. The Tall al-'Amārnah letter which he quotes to support his erroneous view was not written TO Amenhetep III by Kadashman-Enlil, as Sir Flinders states, but BY Amenhetep III to Kadashman-Enlil. Amenhetep III says, (18) "I have sent you a present (19) for the new house by the hand of Shutti, (20) one bed made of *ushu*-wood (ebony?) inlaid with ivory and gold, (21) three beds of *ushu*-wood inlaid with gold, (22) one litter of *ushu*-wood inlaid with gold, (23) one large throne of *ushu*-wood inlaid with gold, (24) five thrones of *ushu*-wood inlaid with gold, (25) four thrones of *ushu*-wood inlaid with gold—(26) weight of gold of all these, 7 minas 9 shekels, (27) of silver, 1 mina 8½ shekels," etc. (*See* Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, vol. i, p. 76, Leipzig, 1915.) Kadashman-Enlil *wanted* gold, and would never send to Egypt what he needed so much. The writer of the letter from which the above is an extract was Amenhetep III and *not* Kadashman-Enlil. Now Amenhetep IV on one ooccasion sent gifts to Burnaburiash, and among the list of them which he gives in his letter to him (Knudtzon, p. 110), he mentions

Among the fabulous creatures of the desert may perhaps be mentioned the animal which was the symbol of the god **Set,** , or , and is represented often on the monuments with a head like that of the **camel**, a beast which is never found on any monument and was not known to the Egyptians until the Greek period. The form of the original of the Set animal seems to have been known to the scribes by tradition, and according to some authorities the beast they intended to draw was the **okapi** or **zebra.**

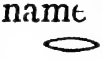
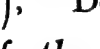
The Egyptian hunters were armed with bows and arrows, nets, axes and spears, or harpoons. The larger animals were probably caught in pits, or driven into spaces which were enclosed by palisades made of branches of trees or reeds. Gazelle, and animals of the antelope class, were

(col. ii, lines 19 and 20), "one bed, inlaid with gold, the feet of which are protecting spirits, one bed, inlaid with gold, [and] one head-rest inlaid with gold." This letter was written BY Amenhetep IV TO Burnaburiash, and the use of the word *lamasse*, "protecting spirits," shows that the legs of the bed were made in the form of those of animals. Thus two kings of Egypt gave beds or couches to kings in Babylonia, and the theory that the couches in Tutānkhamen's tomb were made in Mesopotamia is wholly without foundation. And as Prof. Petrie has obviously made a mistake as to the writer of the letter on which he relies for proof of his theory, further discussion is unnecessary. But whilst expert Assyriologists are able to settle such points for themselves by consulting the cuneiform texts, the general reader cannot do so, and in this case it is necessary to state the facts in detail to prevent further promulgation of errors.

often caught in nets, or with the **lasso,** , *sephu*, or were brought down with the **boomerang,** , *qemau*. Birds of all kinds, with the exception of the **ostrich,** , *nau*, or , were caught in nets, and fish were speared, or trapped, or caught in nets. During the Inundation and immediately afterwards the fishermen caught great numbers of all kinds of fish, from the large so-called "Nile salmon," which came down from the Sūdān, to the very small fish which were found in the bàsins and which resemble whitebait. Those that they could not consume at the time of their catches they preserved for future use (as they did also the meat of the animals they killed and could not eat at the time of killing) by storing them in earthen pots, with salt in abundance. The natives of Upper Egypt do the same now and, having filled large earthen pots with alternate layers of salt and fish, they seal their mouths with lumps of Nile mud. Before the railway across the Abu Hamad desert was made, every caravan carried several of these jars of salted fish, partly for the use of the camel-men on their journey, and partly as gifts to their friends at Berber and Shindi.

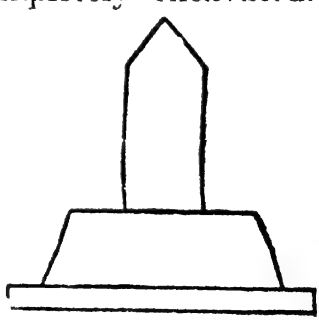
CHAPTER V

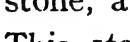
EGYPTIAN TEMPLES, GODS AND PRIESTS

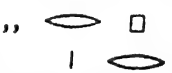
THE earliest **God-house,** or dwelling of the god, in Egypt, was made of reeds or small branches of some tree laced together and held in position by wooden stakes driven into the ground; it was circular in form and resembled the huts found in many parts of the Eastern Sūdān at the present time and many of the churches in Abyssinia. At a later period, the opening in the hut which served for a door was elaborated, and a rectangular portal was added to the reed or wicker-work structure. On the top of this the symbol of the god within was sometimes placed, and presumably the offerings to him were laid before it. The earliest name for this dwelling of the god was **Er-per,**  (in late times Erpi, ), "Door of the divine House," i.e. "door of the god's house." Next were

added a plinth and then steps. The general form of this door was perpetuated in the **shrine,** , which was placed in every large temple, and was always regarded as the special dwelling-place of the god of the temple. The roof of the "door of the house" projected in front and was supported by two poles, and these in later times were represented by the decorated pillars that support the roofs of the shrines of the great gods and of the state pavilions of kings, who were also gods. In early dynastic times the dwelling of the god was made of unbaked bricks, which in turn were superseded by stone. Then the name, "House of the god," , or , was made to describe the shrine, the building in which it stood, and its precincts.

Of the temples of the earliest dynasties nothing is known, for no remains of them exist, and the famous temple of Osiris at Abydos has not been completely excavated. From the ruins of the **Sun-temples** built at Sakkārah by the kings of the Vth Dynasty, which have been excavated in recent years, it is clear that the object of the cult was the **Sun Stone,** which had the form of a pointed stone, and was set on a truncated pyramid.



This stone was called Ben, , or Ben Ben,  , and the chamber in which it was placed

was called the "House of the Ben Ben," . Before it were the vessels for receiving the blood of the victims, that were sometimes human beings, and along the sides of the great courtyard were rows of chambers in which the sacred properties were kept. The walls of the passages were decorated with bas-reliefs. The funerary **temple of Menthu-hetep** (XIth Dynasty) was built close to the pyramid-tomb of the king. It had courts to the north and south, a great fore-court, and a hypostyle hall. The **temple of Amen,** built at Karnak (Thebes), under the XIIth Dynasty, was a comparatively small building; in the centre of it was a small chamber, or sanctuary, which probably contained a statue of the god. It was repaired or rebuilt and greatly enlarged by several of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who turned the temple of Amen and its precincts into what may well be styled a "Temple-town,"  .

From the buildings at Karnak we see that the worshipper approached the first **Pylon,** *i.e.* a gateway with a tower on each side of it, by a wide **dromos,** or pathway, on each side of which was a row of sphinxes. One statue (or more) of the king and an **obelisk** stood on each side of the gate of the pylon. The first pylon led into a large open court, with **a colonnade** on one side of it, and passing through a second pylon the worshipper entered the **hypostyle hall,** where the offerings were brought and collected by the temple-servants. To this hall the public had free

access. Beyond it was the sanctuary containing the **shrine of the god,** which was usually kept closed; round about the shrine were several small chambers in which the dresses and decorations of the god were kept. During certain solemn festivals the doors of the shrine were unbolted and worshippers were permitted to see the face of the statue, which they regarded as that of God Himself.

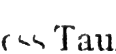
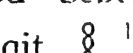
Attached to the temple was the **sacred lake,** in the water of which every visitor to the temple was obliged to wash, for personal cleanliness was dear alike to gods and men. No man could hope to see the god unless he could say, "I have purified my breast and body with clean water, I have purified my hinder parts with the things that cleanse, and my inward parts have been [dipped] in the Pool of Maāti; no one member of mine lacks Maāt. I am pure, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure." Both the temple of Hatshepsut at Dēr al-Bahari and the temple of Amenhetep III in Southern Thebes possess special characteristics, but the essential parts are always the same. The **rock-hewn temples** at Kalābshah and Abu Simbel in Nubia stand alone, and the little sandstone temples in that country may be regarded as rough models of the older temples, only made on a small scale. The **priesthoods** of great temples like those of Heliopolis, Memphis, Abydos and Thebes were very wealthy corporations and, to all intents and purposes, guided the destinies of Egypt. Each great god owned estates and lands, flocks and herds, vineyards, vegetable gardens, boats

and ships, slaves, soldiers and sailors, and the value of the offerings made to Amen of Thebes and Osiris of Abydos was well-nigh incalculable.

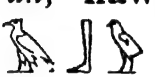
The Temple-town of Amen was the headquarters of all the best artisans in Upper Egypt, and priests of this god directed the affairs both of the living and the dead. The **high priest of Amen** was the intermediary between the king and Amen, and he performed the ceremonies by which the king received daily the renewal of his life and the supply of the divine essence of the god, which enabled him to rule Egypt. The estates of the god and all business connected with his property were managed by a little army of inspectors and overseers, and the temple accounts were carefully kept by a number of scribes, who compiled lists of the offerings and payments made into the treasury of the god. The king was, of course, the chief contributor to the wealth of the god, and it is clear from the list of the offerings which Rameses III made to the great temples that exact lists of the royal gifts were kept by the scribes. In his Annals Thothmes III says that he gave to Amen 1,578 slaves, male and female, from Syria, four cows of a special breed, three cities in Syria and all the annual taxes taken from them, masses of gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, copper, bronze, lead, ochres, etc., for use in the temple buildings, 1,000 geese for offerings, fields, gardens, cornlands, bulls, poultry, incense, wine, fruit, bread, honey, beer, etc., and increased existing endowments, and established new festivals, and provided the necessary offerings. One very

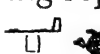
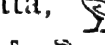
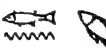
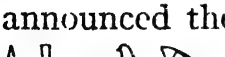
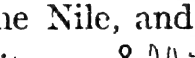
remarkable gift to Amen by Thothmes III was a garden in which he caused to be planted all the shrubs, plants and herbs that he brought from Syria to Thebes. A detailed list of the offerings that Rameses III made to the temples of Thebes, Abydos and Heliopolis is given in the Harris Papyrus No. 1 in the British Museum, and the following extracts from it will give an idea of his munificence in respect of the god Amen of Thebes:—2,844,357 loaves of fine bread, 42,030 jars of wine, 304,093 measures of incense, 110,000 jars of oil, 310 jars of honey, 3,100 measures of wax, 559,500 loads of fruit, 15,500 bundles of figs, 15,110 papyrus sandals, 75,400 bricks of salt, 449,500 measures of the fruit of the dūm palm, 3,029 head of cattle, 126,250 geese, pigeons etc., 441,000 fishes, 770,200 bundles of vegetables, 1,975,800 bunches of flowers, 18,252 *teben* of fine gold and silver, 112,132 *teben* of copper, lead and tin (?), 18,214 *teben* of precious stones. The employees of the Temple of Amen in the reign of Rameses III numbered 62,626, which shows that the cult of this god was in reality a social system.

Egyptian Gods. The early inhabitants of the Nile Valley worshipped stones, trees, mountains, animals, birds, reptiles, fish and other objects, and the cults of some of these persisted in dynastic times. The stone axe-head with its handle, which became the common symbol for "god," or , is probably a survival of **stone-worship**. The **Sun Stone** in the temples of the Vth Dynasty at Sakkārah was the chief

object of the cult of the priests of Heliopolis, and sacrifices were offered up to it; the **obelisk,** which is a development of it, was also an object of worship, and Thothmes III offered to the four obelisks he set up at Thebes large quantities of various kinds of incense, and over 1,000 loaves of various kinds of bread. The persea tree and the tree which was the abode of the goddess Nut were always sacred trees in Egypt, and it has recently been shown that the trees now growing by the tombs of holy men in Egypt are believed to be the abodes of the spirits of Muslim saints, and to be holy (W. S. Blackman, in *Jnl. Eg. Arch*, vol xi., p. 57). The tree-trunk, which became associated with the worship of Osiris, is also a survival of **tree-worship.** Bakhau, the Mountain of Sunrise, and Manu, the Mountain of Sunset, were at all times sacred objects. The creatures worshipped by the Egyptians, either for their power or because they were thought to be places of gods and spirits, were many, and among them were: **Animal-gods.**—The **Hippopotamus**-goddess Taurt,  , the **Crocodile**-god Sebek,  , the **Frog**-goddess Heqit, , the **Hare**-god Un, , the **Bull**-gods Apis, , Mnevis, , and Bakhis, , the **Ram**-god Ba, , the **Lion**-god Mahes, , the **Lynx**-god Maftt, , the **Cat**-goddess Bast, , the **Jackal**-god Anpu

(Anubis), , the **Wolf**-god Upuat, , the **Ichneumon**-god Khatru, , the **Set**-animal god (Okapi ?), . The character of the **Ass** is doubtful, but he seems to have been a form of the Sun-god; the **shrew-mouse** and the **hedgehog** were also sacred animals.

The following **birds** were sacred: the **benu**, (phoenix), the **vulture**, , *nerau*, **hawks** of various kinds, the **ibis**,  , *habu*, the **swallow**, , *ment*, and **geese** of various kinds.

The following reptiles and insects were sacred: the **turtle**,  , the **scorpion**, , the **beetle**, , kheprera (*scarabaeus sacer*), the **serpent** called Sata, , the cerastes, , and cobra,  , *ārt*. The "praying" **mantis** and the **grasshopper** are mentioned in mythological texts. The Book of the Dead speaks of two **fishes** that probably were sacred, the Ant,  , which announced the rise of the Nile, and the Abtu,  ; and Mehit,  , was a Fish-goddess. At first all these were drawn in their natural forms, but early in the Dynastic Period most of the animals, birds and reptiles were depicted with human bodies, the heads alone

indicating the original forms. Thus the Ram-god becomes, the Jackal-god becomes, the Set-animal god becomes, the Hawk-god becomes, the Beetle-god

Khnemu fashioning a man on his potter's wheel

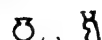
becomes, and so on. The Sun-god ○ has a disk on his head, the Moon-god a crescent, , the Star-god a star, , the Mountain-god a range of hills, , the Serpent-god a serpent, , and the Nile-god has a cluster of plants on

his head and carries two vases, out of which he empties the Nile of the South and the Nile of the North, .

The principal gods and goddesses of the Dynastic Period were:—

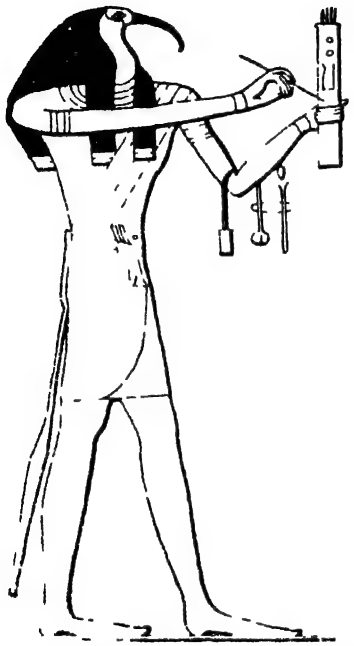
Khnemu, , was one of the oldest gods in Egypt, and his cult seems to have been in existence in the Predynastic Period. His sacred animal was the flat-horned ram . He was the great "builder," , of the universe. He made the gods, and "built up" the cosmic egg from which sprang the sun, and he fashioned the first man out of the material which he created upon a potter's wheel. In a relief of a later period we see him modelling a man on his wheel. Behind him is the ibis-headed god Thoth, who is marking on a notched palm branch the years that the man is destined to live.

Khepera, , the type of matter about to come into a state of activity.

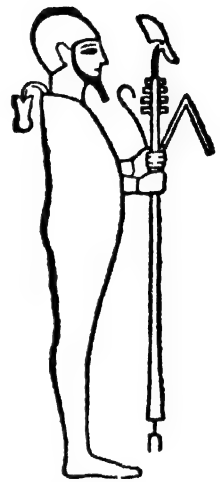
Nenu, or **Nu,** , the primeval watery mass in which Khepera existed; his associate was the goddess **Nent,** , or **Nut,**  , a personification of moisture.

Tehuti, or Tchehuti, , *i.e.* **Thoth,** represented the heart and mind of the Creator of the world. By expressing in words the will

of the Creator he made to come into being everything that exists. He was the scribe of the gods, and invented writing and mathematics, and ordered times and seasons. His associate



Thoth, the scribe of the gods, with his writing reed, palette, and other implements.

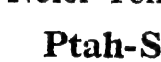


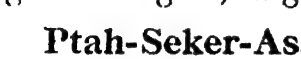
Ptah of Memphis, with the sceptre of stability and serenity, the staff of rule, 𓋴, and the whip. At the back of his neck is the menat amulet, 𓎛.

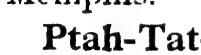
was the goddess **Maāt**, 𓆄𓏏𓄿, the personification of physical and moral **Law**.

Tem, 𓏏𓅱𓄿, or **Atmu**, 𓇋𓏏𓅱𓅱𓅱𓄿, who is always represented in the form of a man, was an ancient solar god, and was adopted by the priests of Heliopolis as the head of their "Great Company of the Gods."

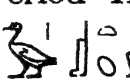
Ptah, , the great god of Memphis, was a deified man. He was a master-handicraftsman, and was said to have assisted Khepera in the creation of the material world. He often appears in the form of a mummy, . He was the first member of the triad of Memphis—Ptah, Sekhmit, Nefer-Temu.

Ptah-Seker,  , a form of the Sun-god of Night ; a god of death

Ptah-Seker-Asar,  , the triune god of the Egyptian Resurrection ; a triad of the gods of death of the district of Memphis.

Ptah-Taten,  . The creator of the matter of which the world was formed.

Imhetep, , the Imouthēs of the Greeks, a native of Memphis who was deified. He was a great architect and a very wise and learned man , he and Hertataf, a son of King Khufu, were held to be the most learned men in Egypt.

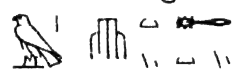
Her, , the Sky-god and Sun-god ; as the latter he appears with the solar disk on his head, . In the Dynastic Period Horus is often called " the son of Isis,"  .

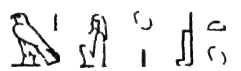
Herur, , "Horus the Elder," one of the oldest gods of Egypt; he personified the face of the Sky, the sun being his right, and the moon his left eye.

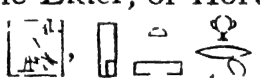
Her-p-khart, , "Horus the Child" (Harpokrates).

Her-aakhuti, , the Harakhthēs of the Greeks, the Sun-god in the two horizons.

Her-em-aakhut, , the Harmakhis of the Greeks, a form of the Sun-god.

Her-khenti-khati,  , Horus in the womb, the unborn Horus or Sun-god.

Her-sa-Ast,  , Horus, son of Isis, a god who is often confused with Herur, *i.e.* Horus the Elder, or Horus the Aged.

Hether,  , the **Hathor** of the Greeks, goddess of love, beauty and fertility; a special kind of cow was sacred to her.

Shu, , an emanation of Temu or Khepera. He represented the space between the earth and the sky, and separated the Sky-goddess Nut from the embrace of the Earth-god Geb. He was the god of light, heat, air and dryness. He supported the horizon and the solar disk on his shoulders .

Tefnut, , sister and wife of Shu; she represented rain, dew, the damp heat that produces generation, and moisture generally.

Geb, , son of Shu and Tefnut, was an early form of the Earth-god.

Nut, (older form Nent,), sister and wife of Geb, was the great Sky-goddess.

Asar, , or *i.e.* **Osiris,** the judge and god of the dead. The principal seats of his cult were Abydos and Busiris.

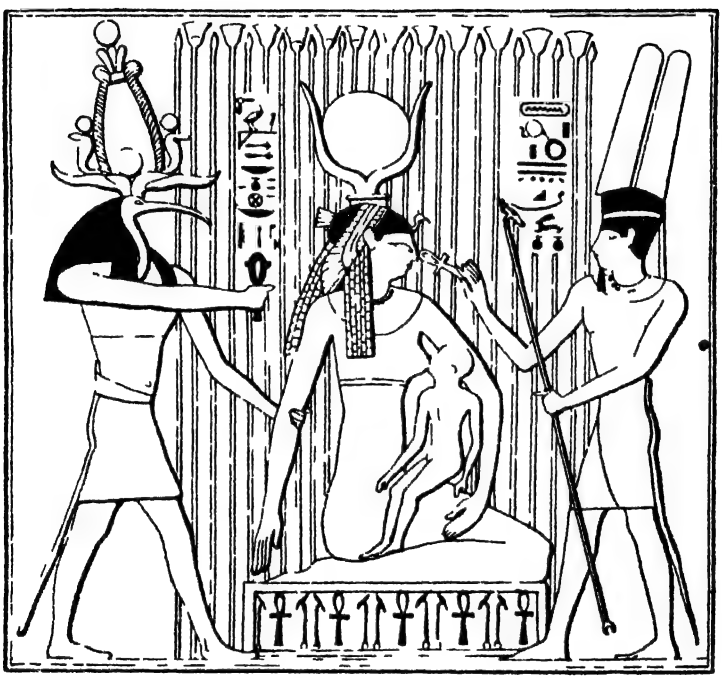
Ast, , *i.e.* **Isis,** the sister and wife of Osiris and mother of Horus whom she brought forth in the lotus swamps of the Delta.

Set, Seth, or **Setesh,** , , the brother and murderer of Osiris, and the great and perpetual Adversary of Heru and all the solar gods; he was the personification of evil, and the god of calamities of every kind, and of the desert waste and of destruction generally. He was incarnate in some African animal, either the zebra or the okapi.

Nebthet, , *i.e.* **Nephthys,** the sister and wife of Set and mother of Anpu.

Anpu, , *i.e.* **Anubis,** the divine physician, who embalmed the body of Osiris and was the guardian of all mummies.

Nekhebit, , the Greek Eileithyia, the oldest "mother-goddess" of Upper Egypt; she was the great protectress of pregnant women; her sacred bird was a **vulture.**



Isis suckling her son Horus among the lotus plants. She wears the vulture head dress with the horns and disk of the moon. On the right is Amen Ra who is holding 'life,' , to her nostrils, and on the left Thoth, the Twice great, the lord of Khemenu, the great god who is presenting to her the magical fluid of life .

Uatchit, , one of the oldest "mother goddesses" of Lower Egypt; the seat of her cult was Per-Uatchit (Buto) in the Delta, and her emblem was a **cobra.**

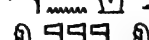
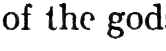
Net, , the great "mother-goddess" of the city of Saïs in the Delta. Though she existed in four forms or aspects she was called "One." She was self-begotten and self-produced, and whilst a virgin gave birth to the Sun-god.

Bast, , the "mother-goddess" of the city of Bubastis in the Eastern Delta, whose sacred animal was the **cat.**

Taurit, or , the **Thoueris** of the Greeks, was one of the oldest "mother-goddesses" of Egypt; her sacred animal was the **hippopotamus.**

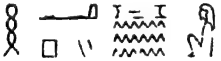
Heqit, , one of the oldest "mother-goddesses" of Egypt, she was the goddess of fertility and rebirth. The little green **tree-frog** was her symbol in Nubia and the Northern Sūdān, and the ordinary frog in Egypt.

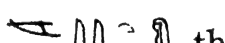
Amen, , the **"Hidden,"** a local god of Thebes, whose cult is as old as dynastic civilization in Egypt; he represented the "hidden" powers of generation and growth in the unborn child. His symbol seems to have been the **umbilicus;** if this be so, his cult may be of Sūdānī origin. Under the XIIth Dynasty he became the chief god of Thebes, and after the expulsion of the Hyksos, which was believed to be due to his power and favour, the attributes of Rā, the Sun-god of Heliopolis, were merged with

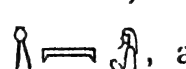
his, and he was called **Amen-Rā,**  , the "King of the gods,"  .

Rā, . the Sun-god of Heliopolis, whose spirit was believed to dwell in the **Ben Ben,** , *i.e.* a stone that had the form of a square pointed stone set on a truncated pyramid. He usurped the attributes of the older solar gods of Egypt, and his priests not only made him the head of the Company of the Gods, but forced their nominees on to the throne of Egypt, and made them adopt a name as the sons of Rā He represented the noonday sun, *i.e.* the sun in his full strength

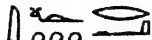
Rā the Sun god of Heliopolis

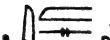
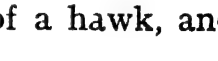
Hāpi,  , the Nile-god; he has the form of a man with the breasts of a woman.

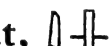
Merit,  , the goddess of the Inundation--an ancient goddess; one of the names of Egypt was Ta-Mera, "Land of the Inundation."

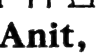
An-her,  , an ancient god of This, whose attributes were usurped by Osiris.

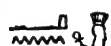
Menu, , a god of generation and fertility; he is usually represented in the form of an ithyphallic man.

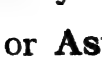
Afurā,  , the body of the Sun-god of Night.

Amset,  , one of the Four Sons of Horus who protected the viscera of the dead; the other three were **Hāp,** , **Qebhsenuf,** , and **Tuamutef,**  . The first had the head of a man, the second that of an ape, the third that of a hawk, and the fourth that of a jackal.

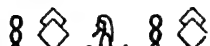
Ami-ut,  , a dog-headed god of the dead; his symbol was a pied headless bull's skin attached to a rod, .

Ani, , a form of the Moon-god; his wife was **Anit,**  .

Ānqit,  , **Satit,** , and **Khnemu,** , formed the great triad of Elephantine and the First Cataract, the two goddesses were probably of Sūdānī origin.

Asten or **Astes,**  , , the companion of Thoth.

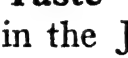
Baba, , or **Beb,** , the first-born son of Osiris.

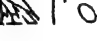
Hāp,  , the **Apis** Bull.

Merur, , the **Mnevis** Bull.

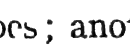
Bekha, , the **Bakhis** Bull.

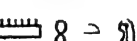
Hu, , and **Saa,** , represented **Taste** and **Touch** respectively; they appear in the Judgment Hall of Osiris.

Iusāasit,  , an ancient goddess of Heliopolis.

Khensu, , the Moon-god. He and Amen-Rā and **Mut,**  , formed the great triad of Thebes; another important form of him was **Khensu-nefer-hetep,** .

Menhit, , a lioness-goddess.

Mentu,  , the War-god of Hermonthis and Thebes.

Meh-urit,  , a Sky-goddess who took the form of a cow.

Mer-segerit, , a Theban goddess who is represented in the form of a woman-headed serpent; the name means "lover of silence."

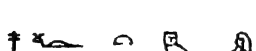
Meskhenit, , a goddess of the birth-chamber.

Mut, , the Mother-goddess of Thebes, wife of Amen-Rā.

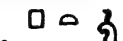
Khensu, the Moon god

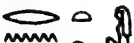
Bes the Sudan god wearing plumes and a tail. He was the god of mirth and jollity, and as a god of music plays a harp. He also appears in the form of a jovial soldier.

Neb-er-tcher, , 'Lord to the [uttermost] limit," a title of Osiris and other gods.

Nefer-Temu,  , son of Ptah and Sekhmit of Memphis.

Nehebka, , a benevolent Serpent-goddess.

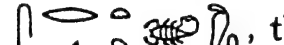
Pakhit,  , a local Cat-goddess.

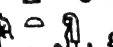
Rennit,  , goddess of birth and the harvest.

Sept, , *i.e.* Sothis, goddess of the Dog-star.

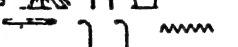
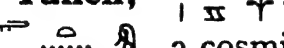
Sekhmit, , wife of Ptah of Memphis.

Seker, , the god of Death of the Underworld of Memphis.

Serqit,  , the Scorpion-goddess.

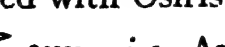
Seshet,  , goddess of writing and literature, an associate of Thoth.

Shai, , god of Luck or Destiny.

Tanen,  , or **Ta-Tenen,**  , a cosmic god.

Up-uatu, , the Wolf-god, an associate of Anpu.

Un-Nefer, , the Hare-god, sometimes identified with Osiris.

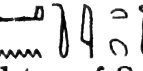
Ãpep,  , *i.e.* Apophis, was the perpetual arch-enemy of all the solar-gods; he appeared in the form of a crocodile.

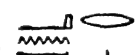
Asar-Hāpi, , Serapis or Sarapis, was the name of the deified Apis Bull. He was identified by the Greeks with their god **Hades,** and both Egyptians and Greeks regarded him as the god of Death, and worshipped him as such.[1]

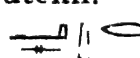
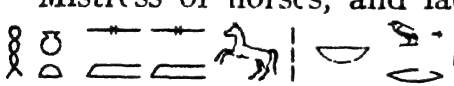
The following were of Sūdānī origin :—

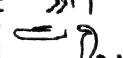
Ahu, , **Bes,** , **Tetun,** , **Meril,** .

The following were of Syrian and Hittite origin :—

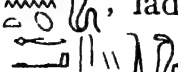
Āntat,  , a goddess of conception and a daughter of Set.

Ānthreta (?),  , a goddess mentioned with Sutekh.

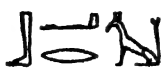
Āstharth,  , *i e* **Ashtoreth,** "Mistress of horses, and lady of the chariot,"  .

Qetesh,  , mistress of the gods, the "eye of Rā"

Kent, , lady of heaven.

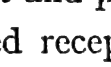
Āasit,  , a goddess of battle.

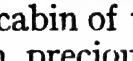
[1] A list of all the gods and divine beings mentioned in the Pyramid Texts will be found in my *Gods of the Egyptians,* vol 1, pp. 79 ff.

Bār,  , *i.e.* Baal, a god of battle.

Reshpu, , a god of war and of the lightning.

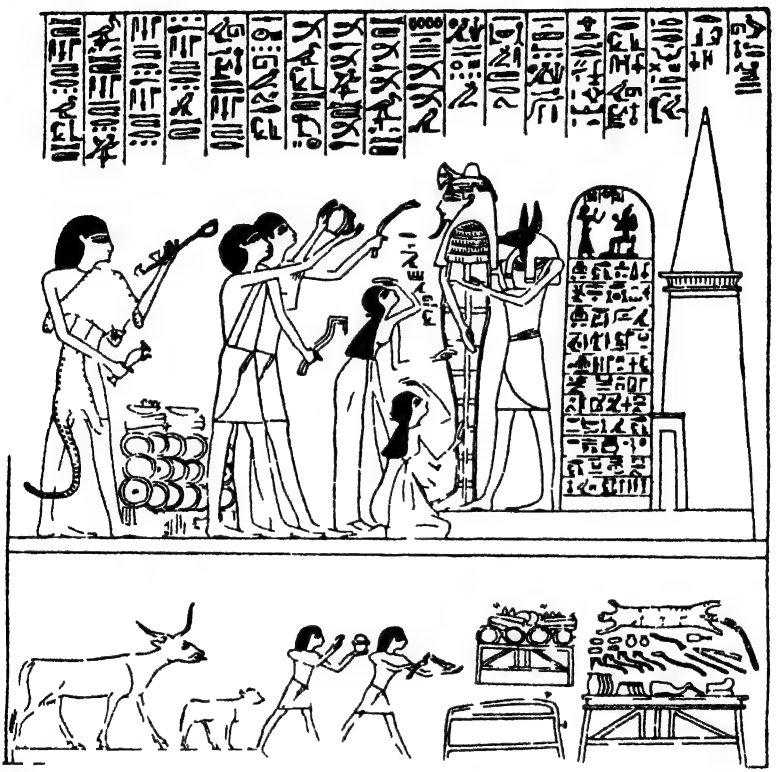
Sutekh, , a Hittite god of the same character as Set.

The figures of the gods, made of gold, or silver covered with a thick casing of gold, or bronze inlaid with gold, were kept in small portable shrines, made in the shape of the large shrine, , and provided with doors, which were closed and bolted and sometimes sealed When a god desired to make a progress through the city or country, his shrine was brought out and placed in a boat,  , or some other sacred receptacle, and the priests carried it out of the temple into the street. The shrine was followed by a large number of people of all sorts besides the temple staff, and hymns of praise were sung by the priests and the choir of the temple, and probably many laymen joined in. These religious festival processions were highly appreciated by the populace, and when they were allowed to look upon the face of the god they rejoiced greatly, for healing of sicknesses and blessings were believed to follow in his train. The goddess Isis of Philae was carried through the country of Nubia once a year so that women might present their petitions for offspring to her in person. A special barge was kept for the use of the god when he wished to progress up or down the Nile, and the

"boat of the god" was a splendid construction. The barge of Amen of Thebes, called **Userhat,** , was made of cedar-wood and was 130 cubits (at least 200 feet) long, and was gilded all over; the cabin of the god was made of fine gold inlaid with precious stones, and was decorated with heads of rams in gold, and its prow was in the form of a uraeus wearing the crown of Osiris. The barge of Ptah of Memphis, called **Neb heh,**  , was as long as that of Amen, and its cabin and steering-poles were made of gold; everywhere its approach was greeted with cries of joy and the sound of music. Some figures of the gods had movable limbs, for Amen of Thebes chose Thothmes III as king by touching him with his hand; Amen of the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, by touching Alexander the Great with his hand, acknowledged him to be his son and the king of Egypt; Amen of Napata selected from among the candidates for the throne of Nubia the man he wished to be king by touching him with his hand, and Khensu, a god of Thebes, showed that he approved of the journey of Nefer-hetep to Bekhten by nodding his head. On festal occasions the god was "dressed" by the priests, who placed crowns of gold on his head, an elaborate pectoral on his breast, cases made of gold on his fingers and toes, and the symbols of his power in his hands.

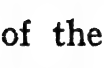
The king, by virtue of his divine origin, was in all periods of Egyptian history the **high priest of the god,** and the priesthood was hereditary

in many noble families. As a child and as a youth the son of a nobleman usually occupied himself with duties which were not, strictly speaking, of a priestly character, and did not



The Khen heb and his assistants performing magical ceremonies in order to effect the "Opening of the Mouth" of the deceased Hunefer The words of the 'book" are given above in hieroglyphs On the stele behind Anubis and the mummy is a prayer to Osiris for funerary offerings

become a priest until he reached early manhood. The ordinary servant of the temple was called "servant of the god," , **hem neter**, and served under the direction of a MER, , or

overseer; the custody of the temple generally was in the hands of the "overseer of the temple." Other orders of priests were "father of the god," , the asperger, or "pure one," , the "scribe of the holy books,"  , and the "Possessor of the book," **Kheri-heb**, , *i.e.* the priest who arranged the order of the services and recited or sang parts of them. He was usually a man of great learning and was believed to possess magical powers. The Kheri heb who is mentioned in the Westcar Papyrus is said to have had the power of restoring to life a goose the head of which had been cut off, and of dividing the water in a lake into two parts and making the one part to stand on the other. One of the Kheri-heb's garments was the leopard skin, which conferred upon him the power to deal and treat with the denizens of the Underworld. He was the chief performer in all the important magical funerary ceremonies, especially in those that concerned the "Opening of the Mouth," whereby the deceased resumed the power to think, talk, move and walk, which he had enjoyed upon earth.

There were various grades among the ordinary servants of the god, and a man might be the first or second or third prophet of the god, and he might be a priest of several gods, *e.g.* prophet of Menu, prophet of Isis, prophet of Her-netch-teff. Under the New Kingdom the priests of a temple

were divided into classes, , *sau*, each of which was under a director. Several of the priests who assisted in the funerary ceremonies in the tombs had special titles, *e.g.* Sa-mer-f, , and the priest who undertook duties in connection with the dead was called "prophet of the Ka," , *hem ka*. Under the New Kingdom a great many priests and servants of the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes occupied themselves with the burial of the dead who belonged to their order, and coffins, funerary coffers, ushabtiu figures, scarabs, and all the miscellaneous objects that were considered necessary for the deceased in his tomb were prepared under their direction. Mummification was carried on under their care, as also were the painting and decoration of the coffins in which the priests and singing women of Amen were buried. The influence of Amen and his priests at Thebes was felt in every grade of society, and it culminated when Her-Her, the high priest of Amen, usurped the throne and founded the short-lived line of **Priest-kings** at Thebes, about 1100-950 B.C. The same thing had happened about two thousand years earlier, when the priesthood of Rā at Heliopolis succeeded in making three of their high priests the first three kings of the Vth Dynasty.

However numerous the official priests may have been in every temple, they were unable to direct all the services that had to be performed during the day and night; they were assisted in their work by **lay priests**. Some of these undertook

to be present and to minister in the temple for a specified number of hours, and were called "hour-men of the house of the god," , and others served for a month at a time. These, with their wives and children, formed the population of the "Temple-town" and were a sort of *imperium in imperio*, a state within the state. The reigning monarch was nominally their king, but the god they served was their real king. The chief of the lay priests was the deputy of the god, and his assistants formed both his Court and his Council. The body of lay priests consisted of soldiers, sailors, handicraftsmen of all kinds, agriculturists, cattle-breeders, merchants, etc., all of whom made offerings to the common fund; but those who received wages from this fund were not called upon to make offerings. Most of the manual labour required by the lay priests was provided by their slaves, who were very numerous, some temples possessing as many as 682. Rameses III states, in the Harris Papyrus No. 1, that in the course of the 31 years of his reign he gave to the temples of Egypt 113,433 slaves. And the staffs of the various temples enumerated by him in the same document consisted of 5,811 persons.

CHAPTER VI

EGYPTIAN WRITING—HIEROGLYPHIC, HIERATIC, DEMOTIC—AND COPTIC

THE inscribed objects of the Late Neolithic Period which have come down to us show that the Egyptians were able to cut on stone and wood a considerable number of the **pictorial characters** that were used in writing in the Dynastic Period, and that are commonly called **hieroglyphs.** The objects represented by them are all native, *i.e.* African, which shows that the characters were not of foreign origin, but up to the present it has not been proved that the predynastic Egyptians were acquainted with the **art of writing,** as we understand it. They could not construct connected sentences. This art they acquired early in the Dynastic Period, and it is probable that they did so under the influence of some Asiatic or European people. On the other hand, it is allowable to think that the Egyptians themselves turned their pictographs into a syllabary,

for they soon found that they wanted to use combinations of them solely for the sounds of the words that they represented, without any regard to the actual objects that they represented. But they went further than this, for they simplified several of the values of the signs in their syllabary and gave them **alphabetic values,** though they never used them as the letters of the alphabet were used by the Persians in the time of Darius I and are used by modern nations in Europe. And down to the latest times in which hieroglyphic writing was used, the inscriptions contain both syllabic and alphabetic characters.

The Egyptians were able to retain the pictorial forms of the characters they used in writing because they found in abundance in their own country a material on which they could be written easily, namely **papyrus.** The Sumerians and Babylonians, whose writing was originally pictographic, had no such vegetable material in Mesopotamia, and they therefore made use of clay. But their scribes very soon found that it was difficult to draw figures of animals and round or curved objects on this material, and little by little the pictorial forms of the characters disappeared, and then was invented the **cuneiform** system of writing, which is so called because each sign is composed of a series of **wedge-shaped** characters. Thus a circle, ○, which represented the sun, became ◇, and ✳, a star, became ✳; but from first to last the Egyptian represented the sun by ⊙ and the star

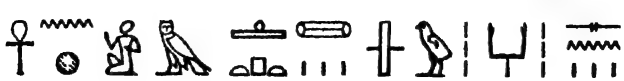
by ✶. The Egyptian might have used Nile mud as the Sumerian used clay, but the former has not the tenacity of the latter and is far less compact.

Kinds of writing. Egyptian writing is known in three forms:—Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, and Demotic. The oldest form is pictographic, or **hieroglyphic,** and it remained in use from the Late Neolithic Period until the early centuries of the Christian Era. The dynastic Egyptians said that it was invented by **Thoth,** the scribe of the gods, and they described it as , "words of the god"; and in their opinion it always possessed a specially sacred character. Hieroglyphs are written in horizontal lines or in columns, and a text may begin either on the right- or left-hand side of a page, as in the following examples:—

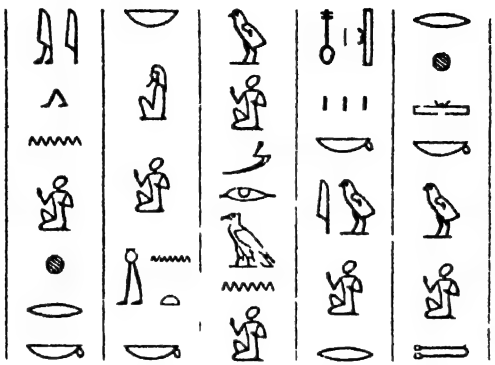
1. In horizontal lines:—

2. Beginning on right-hand side of page:—

3. Beginning on left-hand side of page:—



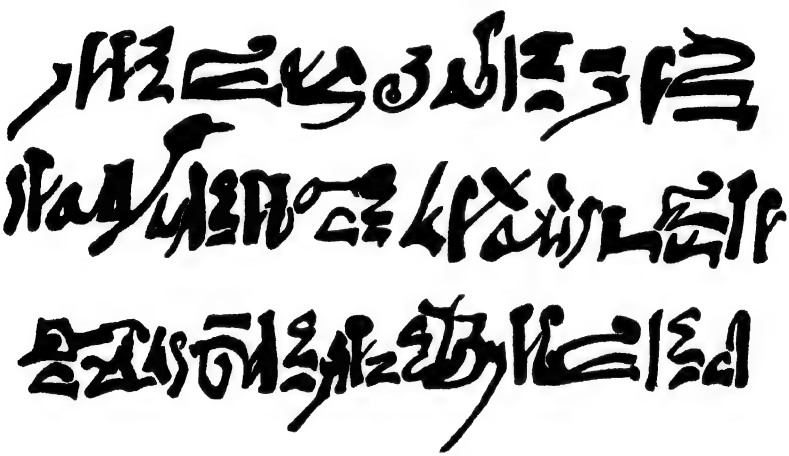
4. In columns :—



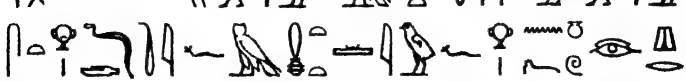
In **Hieratic,** *i.e.* cursive hieroglyphic, writing we have only the most salient features of the hieroglyphs preserved, as the following examples from the Tale of the Two Brothers shows. Hieratic writing could be written more quickly than hieroglyphic, and was employed in writing copies of business documents and letters and drafts of inscriptions that were to be cut in stone, and pupils in the temple schools were taught to read it easily and to become experts in writing it by making copies of literary and religious texts. Under the Middle Kingdom Chapters from the Pyramid Texts and Chapters from the later Book of the Dead, *i.e.* "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," were written in hieratic on the insides and outsides of coffins. Medical and mathematical papyri, *e.g.* the Ebers Papyrus and the Rhind Papyrus were also written in bold hieratic characters. Under the New Kingdom copies of extracts from the Book of the Dead were written in hieratic, and sometimes the whole of its Chapters, as in

the papyrus of Princess Nesitanebtashru (the Greenfield Papyrus). The following is a specimen of hieratic writing taken from the D'Orbiney Papyrus in the British Museum (Birch, *Select Papyri*, part ii, plates xi and xii), together with a transcript of it into hieroglyphs, which will enable the reader to compare the two writings. The hieratic text is written from right to left, but the hieroglyphs must be read from left to right.

HIERATIC TEXT

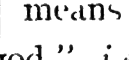


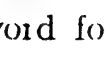
HIEROGLYPHIC TRANSCRIPT

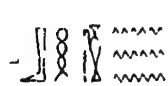
1.
2.
3. 

Hieratic is usually written in horizontal lines, which are to be read from right to left, but in several papyri of the Middle Kingdom the texts are written in short columns.

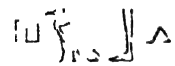
Demotic, or Enchorial, the third form of Egyptian writing, is an abbreviated and conventionalized form of hieratic that was much used by business folk and lawyers, but copies of several literary works, funerary compositions and priestly edicts, were written in this script.

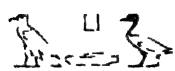
Every hieroglyph, or pictograph, could be used to represent a sound or to express an idea, *i.e.* it can be either **ideographic** or **phonetic;** phonetic characters may be either syllabic or alphabetic. Ideographs are to be interpreted sometimes literally and sometimes symbolically; thus is a wall, but it may be used as a symbol of building; is a seal, but it may be used as a symbol of something sealed up, *i.e.* treasure. Ideographs that have more than one phonetic value are called **polyphones,** and different ideographs that have similar values are called **homophones.** So long as the Egyptians used pictographs pure and simple the meaning of each character was easily understood. Thus in the title , *hem neter*, means "servant" and means "god," so we have "servant of the god," *i.e.* priest. In the oft-repeated formula,  the first sign means "king," the second means "giver" and the third means "gift," or "funerary offering," and the meaning, "the king gives a gift," is obvious. But when the Egyptians began to spell their words with alphabetic signs and syllabic signs they found

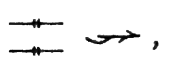
it necessary to indicate in some way the meaning and even the sounds of many of the words so written; this they did by adding to the words signs which we call **determinatives.** Thus the word for lily,  , *seshen*, is determined by a picture of the flower itself, ; and , chariot, is determined by the picture of a chariot . These are examples of determinatives that determine a single species, but there is a large class of general determinatives, *e.g.* is the determinative of actions performed with the legs, is the determinative of "god," and of "goddess," , *i.e.* water falling from the sky, of rain, rain-cloud, dew, etc. These few examples will illustrate the use of determinative signs.

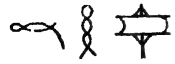
 , *ȳelh*, cold water (2 determinatives).

, *sekher*, to overthrow.

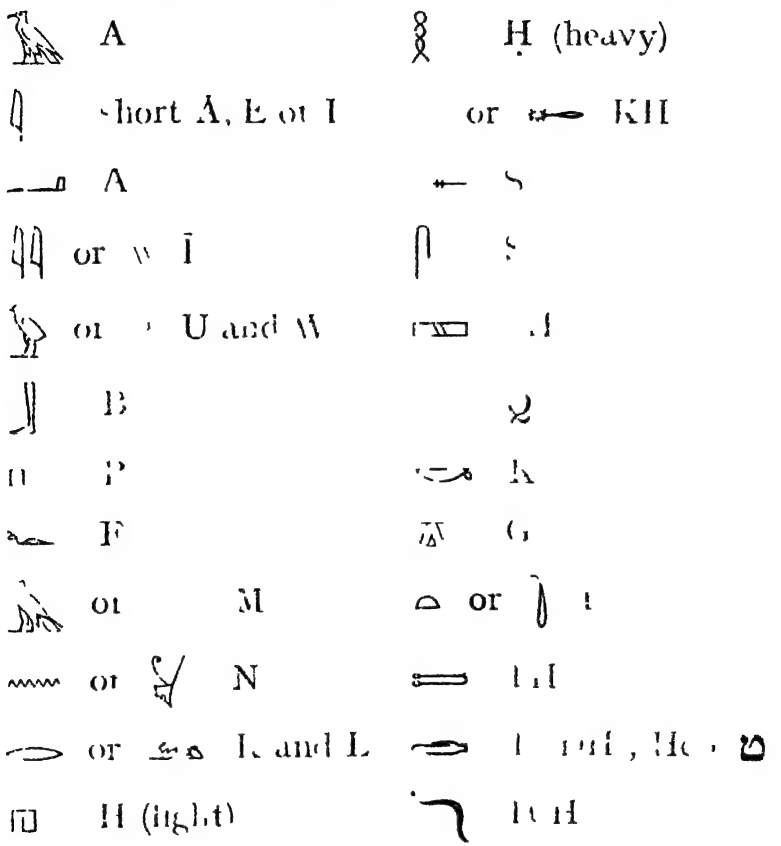
 , *hab*, to send.

 , *apt*, goose, duck.

 , *ses*, wooden bolt.

 , *meh*, air, wind.

The Egyptian alphabetic characters are :—



The following extracts from texts will illustrate the use of ideographs, alphabetic characters and determinatives in the inscriptions :—

er ánt neb ānkh hen en ānkhu

to bring { *a box of life, i.e. sarcophagus* } *and a coffer of the living one*

henā ta-f henā benbent .....

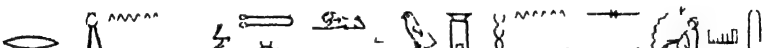
with its cover with pyramidion precious (?)

shepst en Merenmā Khā nefer henut

august, for the Merenra pyramid [called] Khanefer the royal

habu hen f er Abu

Sent [me] His Majesty to Abu (i.e. Elephantine)

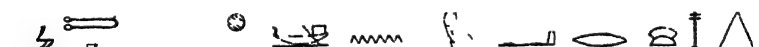


er ánt math ārtu henā seth s

to bring granite a [fair] door and its libation slab

math āau rant er ánt

[of] granite. Doors [and] posts to bring [of]



math khet nà em ā er Khā nefer

granite ..... { I sailed down the river [with them] } at once to { Khānefer pyramid }

em usekht VI sath VI

in barges six, [and] lighters six, [and]

..... III en ..... uâa (?) uā ân sep

boats of eight ... three, {[and] for the armed guard} boat one. Never

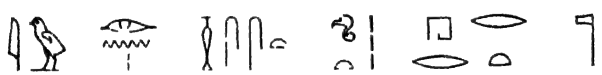
pat ârit Abhat Abu

before had visited Âbhat [and] Elephantine

en ..... uâa (?) uā ḥer hau nesu neb.

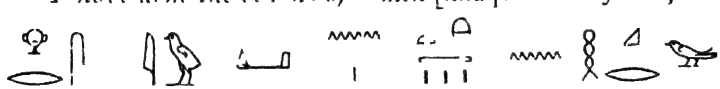
a ship with an armed guard in the time of king any.

II.



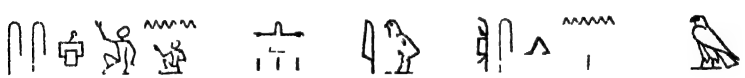
âu ârnâ hesest ret hereret neteru

I have done the behests of men [and] the will of the gods.



ḥeres âu ṭa - nâ tau en ḥeqr

Because of it I have given bread to the hungry,

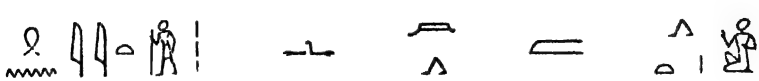


sesau - nâ ât au shes - nâ neter

I have satisfied the indigent. I have followed the god

em pa - f ân āa re - â em

in house his. Not did I make great my mouth against

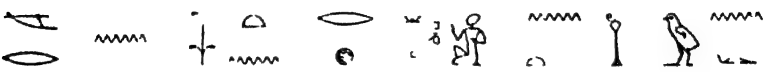


shenit ân peṭ em nemt - â

superior officers. There is no stretch in stride my,

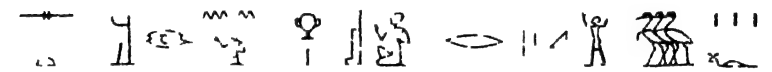
shem a her sa khent ar - na em maāt

walk { [illegible] } { [illegible] } *law*



mer en ne u [illegible] kua entet utu - nef

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] what commanded

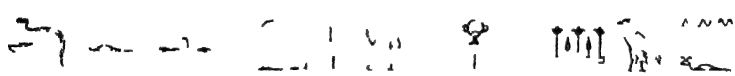


set res na her [illegible] er seqa baiu f

he [illegible] [illegible] at seat my [illegible] exalt his will

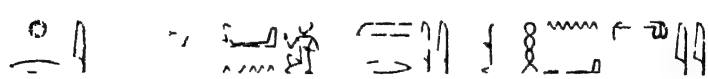
tua [illegible] [illegible] neb [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] khenti

{ [illegible] } [illegible] *[illegible] to be ready*



tchet f [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] s a nef

for his [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] what [illegible] determined

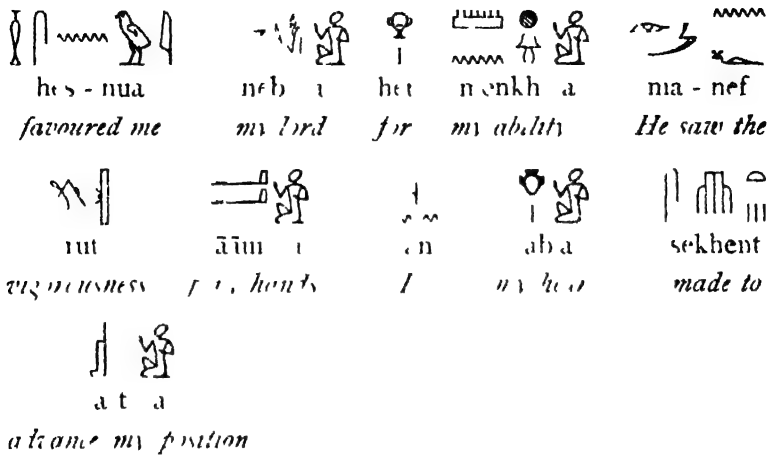


kher a [illegible] [illegible] me rit hena metit

{ [illegible] } *I [illegible] on uprightness and justice.*

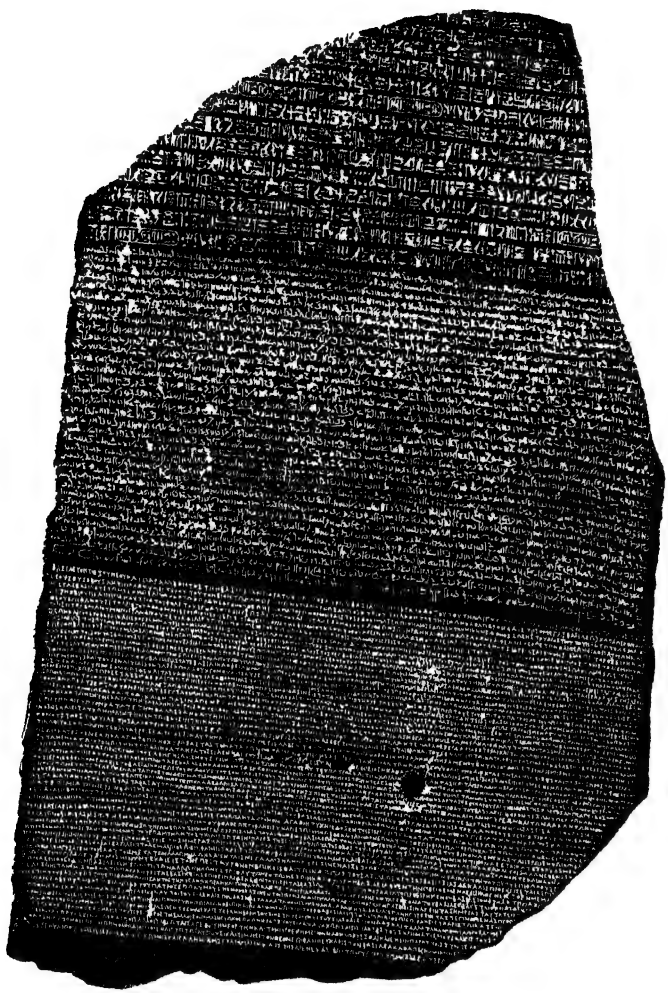
peh na enen her ger a qebb

I [illegible] { [illegible] } *I had to keep silence* *Refreshed*



The **decipherment** of the Egyptian hieroglyphs was effected by two men, **Thomas Young** and **J. F. Champollion,** in the first quarter of the XIXth century, through the discovery of the **Rosetta Stone** (now in the British Museum) and the famous Obelisk at Philae (now at Kingston Hall in Dorsetshire). The Rosetta Stone is inscribed in two forms of Egyptian writing (hieroglyphic and demotic) and in Greek, with a decree of the priests of all Egypt assembled at Memphis in the ninth year of **Ptolemy V,** King of Egypt, 196 B.C. The Obelisk at Philae is inscribed with a petition of the priests of Philae addressed to **Ptolemy IX** and to Cleopatra his wife and Cleopatra his sister. On each of the four sides of the shaft of the Obelisk is a hieroglyphic inscription giving the titles of the king and mentioning his wife Cleopatra; on the pedestal are the petition of the priests and Ptolemy's answer to them, written in Greek. Thus the inscriptions on the Rosetta

Stone and the Obelisk of Philae are two **bilingual** (Egyptian and Greek) documents. The Greek inscriptions on each monument were read without any great difficulty, because Greek was a **known** language; then scholars set to work to try and decipher the Egyptian inscriptions in the **unknown** language. Many attempts had been made to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphs, but none was successful until Young began to work at them. It was well known from the hieroglyphic inscriptions available for study in Europe that groups of hieroglyphs were enclosed in ovals, , and Jorgen Zoega, the Dane (1755-1809), guessed that such ovals contained royal names. The Greek text of the Rosetta Stone mentions King Ptolemy, and Young assumed that the Egyptian text would do the same, and that if it did the name would be written in phonetic, *i.e.* alphabetic, characters; in fact, he was the first to grasp the idea of the existence of a **phonetic principle** in Egyptian writing. He adopted Zoega's guess that the oval , now called **cartouche,** contained the name of Ptolemy, and with the help of the cartouche of Cleopatra on the Philae Obelisk succeeded in proving that it did, and that the beginning of a royal name in a cartouche was always at the rounded end of it. He also identified the name of Berenice from another monument, and obtained the correct phonetic values of several of the hieroglyphs. Thus before 1818 he had deciphered two royal names, and Mr. Bankes had identified the name of



Cleopatra also. Egyptian decipherment was only one of the many abstruse subjects that occupied Young's mind and energies, and after the publication in 1818 of his great article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* he practically dropped the matter.

Meanwhile J. F. Champollion in France had been working at the subject and, adopting Young's method and some of his values—unfortunately without acknowledgment—he drew up an alphabet from the names of the Roman emperors and formulated the system of decipherment which has been in part adopted by later Egyptologists. He found a wise and learned helper in his brother, **Champollion-Figeac,** who collected his notes and papers and edited his *Dictionnaire*. Lepsius investigated very carefully Champollion's system in 1835, and it was due to his report on it that its fundamental features were accepted by scholars generally. Champollion, to the deep regret of the learned world in Europe, died in 1832, but the splendid work which he had begun was carried on and developed by Birch, Hincks and Goodwin in England, by Lepsius and Heinrich Brugsch in Germany, and by E. de Rougé and Chabas in France. He who wishes to know the true facts about the part that Young took in the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs should read the third volume of *The Works of Thomas Young* by Leitch (with his *Life* by Dean Peacock), London, 1855. The method followed by Young and Champollion in the construction of the Egyptian alphabet is described in a quarto pamphlet entitled

The Rosetta Stone, published by the British Museum, price 6*d*. This little work contains a good reproduction of the inscriptions on the Stone in collotype. For a fuller account *see* my *Mummy*, Cambridge, 1925.

Coptic is the name given to the form of writing which, it seems, was first used to any great extent by the Copts, or Egyptian Christians, in writing their translations of the various books of the Old and New Testaments from Greek into the Egyptian language. The Egyptian man was called by the Arab "kibṭiyy," قِبْطِيّ, or "ḳubṭiyy," قُبْطِيّ (whence the name "Copt"), and this appellation was derived from the Greek name for the Egyptian, Αἰγύπτιος. To the Copts "kibṭiyy" was the Egyptian Christian who had embraced the Monophysite form of Christianity, as opposed to the "Melkite" or "Royalist," who accepted the ruling of the Council of Chalcedon, but the epithet was probably applied by the Semites to every indigenous Egyptian long before Christianity was introduced into Egypt in the Ist century of our Era. The language of the "kibṭiyy," or "Copt," was called by the Arabs "ḳibṭiyyah," whence our "Coptic." Some of the papyrus manuscripts containing copies of Books of the Bible are certainly as old as the beginning of the IVth century, and probably are a century older, and there is every reason to think that they were copied from manuscripts in Upper Egypt. At the beginning of our Era it seems that the demotic script was in general use in Egypt,

but the Egyptian Christians decided to adopt the Greek alphabet, and all the Coptic translations of the Scriptures that have come down to us are written with Greek uncials. There were, however, some sounds in the Egyptian language that could not be expressed by any letter in the Greek alphabet, and the Copts added to it modified forms of the hieroglyphs that represented them. These additions are ϥ, ϧ, ϭ, ϫ, ϲ and ϯ. The following is the Coptic version of St. Matt. vi 19 and 21 in the dialect of Upper Egypt: -

19. ⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲣ̄ ⲥⲱⲟⲩϧ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϧⲉⲙⲁϧⲟ
Do not gather for you in treasures

ϧⲓⲭⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϧ ⲡⲙⲙⲁ ⲥⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉ
upon the earth, the place in which are wont

ⲧⲓⲟⲟⲗⲥ ⲙⲙⲛ̄ ⲑⲱⲱⲗⲥ ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ̄.
the rust and the moth destroy in it,

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲙⲙⲁ ⲥⲁⲩⲁⲣⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲉϥⲭⲱⲧⲉ ϣⲟⲭⲧ̄
and the place where are wont the thieves to dig

ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲥⲭⲓⲟⲧⲉ.
into it to steal

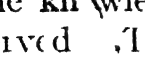
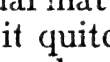
21. ⲡⲙⲙⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲁϧⲟ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ
The place for wherein thy treasure shall be

ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ̄ ϥⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲉϧⲏⲧ.
in it, shall be there thy heart also.

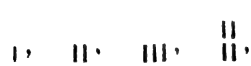
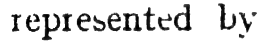
CHAPTER VII

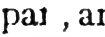
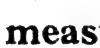
THE WISDOM OF THE EGYPTIANS

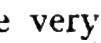
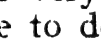
GREEK writers tell us that their own sages and philosophers, *e.g.* Archimedes, Hecataeus, Plato, Pythagoras, Solon, Thales, went and studied in Egypt in order to become acquainted with the wisdom and learning of the Egyptians, but in what that wisdom and learning consisted none of them has told us. Stephen the Martyr, in his dying speech (Acts vii. 22), says that Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and we shall perhaps be not far wrong if we assume that he thought Moses had read and studied the native Egyptian works on magic and religion and had acquired a special knowledge of the Egyptian doctrines and beliefs concerning the origin of the world and of "gods" and men, and the resurrection and the world and life beyond the grave. We shall see later on that the Egyptians did not possess the great and exact knowledge of mathematics,

chemistry, and other sciences with which they have been credited, but it is impossible to think that their reputation for learning and wisdom and the knowledge of "mysteries" was wholly undeserved. To the Egyptians "mysteries," SHETAI,  , meant the secret rites that were performed by specially initiated persons only, and also religious doctrines which seemed to be above or beyond ordinary human comprehension. The Egyptian priests and sages and teachers of theoretical and practical magic *must* have possessed some knowledge that was not to be found out of Egypt, and, if they did, it concerned spiritual matters rather than material. The texts make it quite clear that the Kher-heb priests and the learned in Egypt studied matters that are now called "occult," and that some of them possessed psychological powers of a remarkable character. There must always have been in Egypt a limited class of thinkers who tried to probe mysteries and wanted "to know,"  , and to whom knowledge was its own reward. They probably wrote books on the subjects that they studied, but if they did none of them has come down to us. For the ordinary Egyptian the road to success and prosperity could only be traversed by knowing how to read and write; hence the extraordinary respect which was paid to the profession of the scribe and to the scribe himself. The unlettered man, , was regarded everywhere as a fool

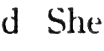
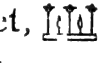
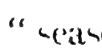
and of no account. The principal branches of Egyptian learning were: –

Mathematics. The Egyptians were not naturally great mathematicians, and they owed their knowledge of the higher branches of the subject to the Greeks. They used the **decimal system,** but traces of a duodecimal system are found in the 12 hours, the 12 months, perhaps in the 12 Signs of the Zodiac, and in the 36 (12 × 3) Dekans. The numbers 1 to 9 are represented by strokes  , 10 is represented by , 100 by , 1,000 by , 10,000 by , 100,000 by , 1,000,000 by , and there are signs for 10,000,000 and 100,000,000. Thus 1,765,949 is expressed by  , and 10,000,000 years by . **Addition** and **subtraction** were often used; **multiplication** and **division** were difficult, for the **multiplication table** was unknown. **Ordinal numbers** were formed by the addition of to the number, *e.g.* , *fifth*. **Fractions** are expressed by the addition of , meaning a "part"; thus = $\frac{1}{4}$, and = $\frac{2}{3}$, but many fractions, *e.g.* $\frac{5}{8}$, were expressed in a clumsy fashion.

Geometry. In measures of length the royal cubit,  (·525 m.), and the little cubit,  (·450 m.), were used. Other measures were the finger-breadth, the hand-breadth, the palm, the span, and the length of the upper arm. In **land measure** there was the *arura*, , with its divisions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$. The chief liquid measure was the *hen*, . The two principal **weights** were the *teben*, (9·09591 gram.), and the *qet* (90·9591 gram.).

Astronomy. Until the Egyptians came under the influence of Asiatic nations and the Greeks their notions of astronomy were very limited, and their star-gazers were unable to define the length of the year correctly. The oldest year known to them contained 12 months (divided into 3 seasons, **Akhet**,  , **Pert**, , and **Shemut**, ), each containing 30 days; to these they added at a later period the 5 epagomenal days, and the year then contained 365 days, and was nearly a quarter of a day shorter than the solar year. It was not until the reign of Ptolemy III that any general attempt was made to reform the **Calendar**, but a year of 365 days with an intercalated day every fourth year was not adopted by the Egyptians until nearly two centuries later.

The modern Egyptians begin to sow their winter crops some time in October, generally

towards the end of the month, and these are all reaped by the middle of February, when they begin to sow their summer crops. At this time the *fallâhîn* take up their abode in the fields, and they stay there until the summer crops are grown and reaped, say about the middle of June. In this month the swelling of the Nile begins, and the waters from the great Equatorial Lakes make their appearance in Egypt. The final rise of the Nile takes place in October, and it seems that the period from the middle of June to the middle of October represents the old season of the Inundation called Shemut,  . If this be so, Akhet,  , the "season of growing," began in October and ended in February, and  , the "season of coming out," began in February and ended in June. The natural agricultural year began at the end of the period of the Inundation, which probably varied slightly in length. Some Egyptologists think that Akhet began on July 19 and ended on November 15; that Pert began on November 16 and ended on March 15; that Shemut began on March 16 and ended on July 13; and that then followed the five epagomenal days.

There is no proof that the Egyptians ever used the **Sothic Period,** or the **Phoenix Period.** They had no **Era** like that of the later Christians and the Muslims, and at first only dated their years by events; later they used the regnal years of their kings. Each month was dedicated to

a god, and every hour of the day (12 hours) and every hour of the night (12 hours) had its deity. The early Egyptians divided the **stars** into groups in which they thought they saw the forms of men and beasts, and parts of beasts and other objects, and they seem to have thought that these ruled the destinies of men. It is probable that the **star cult** is the oldest in Egypt. The five **planets** known to them were Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. The **36 Dekans** were known to the Egyptians of the New Kingdom, but the **Signs of the Zodiac** were introduced into Egypt by the Greeks, who borrowed them from the Babylonians, who in turn had borrowed them from the Sumerians. The texts mention two sets of stars, "the stars that never rest" and "the stars that never set"; the last are probably the circumpolar stars. There is no proof that the Egyptians systematically observed the stars over a period of many thousands of years, like the Babylonians, and material at present available suggests that their knowledge of astronomy was very limited.

Astrology. Such knowledge of the stars as was possessed by the Egyptians they devoted to building up the science of astrology, which existed in Egypt from the earliest times; in pure astronomy they were not interested, for they regarded the stars merely as arbiters of their destinies, and as things that expressed the Will of the Creator. This view being general in Egypt, as in Babylonia, the development of astronomy was impossible.

The stars were gods, and from their appearances, colour, movements, and positions the astrologers made predictions and divinations concerning the outcome of events in Egypt generally, and the future actions of their kings, and the affairs of private individuals, and every circumstance of life. As they ruled the heavens, so they ruled the earth and times and seasons. Every hour of the day and night throughout the year, and every month, had its regent, and according as the events which had happened to the gods at certain hours of certain days of certain months were good or bad, parts of days and whole days were lucky or unlucky. In the Calendars of **Lucky and Unlucky days and hours,** the days are divided into three parts: thus a lucky day is described by , and an unlucky one by , and when a part of a day is lucky and the other two parts are unlucky, we have , or , or , and so on. There were many kinds of astrologers, diviners, interpreters of dreams, casters of nativities, etc., but the aim of all of them was the same, *i.e.* to direct, or modify, or annul the wills and operations of the Star-gods. The **horoscope** and the **astrolabe** were not known to the Egyptians, as some have supposed, for the former was invented by the Greeks, and the latter by the Persians; but it seems that the Egyptian astrologer drew up tablets of the positions of planets and used them for foretelling

events in the lives of men. The doctrine of the sacredness of certain numbers must have formed a part of the science of astrology, among such being 3, 4, 7, 9, 27, 42, 75, 77, 110, etc. Thus we have **three** gods (the triad), and three divisions of the world, heaven, sky, and Tuat; **four** sons of Horus, four quarters of the world, four blazing flames (Book of the Dead, Chap. cxxxviia), four altars, four doors of heaven, four rudders of heaven, four vessels of blood, four vessels of milk; **seven** Arits, seven hawks, seven-headed serpent, seven Scorpions of Isis, seven Spirits; **nine** gods in a Company, nine chiefs, nine Ennutchis, nine nations who used the bow; **twenty-seven** gods (three Companies, 9 × 3); **forty-two** nomes, forty-two Assessors; **seventy-five** Addresses to Rā; **seventy-seven** in magical papyri; **one hundred and ten** years, the limit of a man's life.

Scientific instruments. No remains of any such things have come down to us. Nothing like the tube of a telescope has been found, and though the Egyptians knew how to make glass paste under the Old Kingdom the **lens** was unknown to them. They had no mechanical instruments for measuring time, whether **sun-dial, gnomon** or **clock**; the **water-clock** was introduced by the Greeks. There is no truth in the statements that they lighted their tombs by **electricity** and protected their buildings by **lightning conductors,** for the metal cases of the pyramidions of the obelisks and the metal caps of poles had no contact with the earth. The Egyptians never made and never could make

any advance in physical science because they considered natural phenomena to be due directly to the operations of the gods.

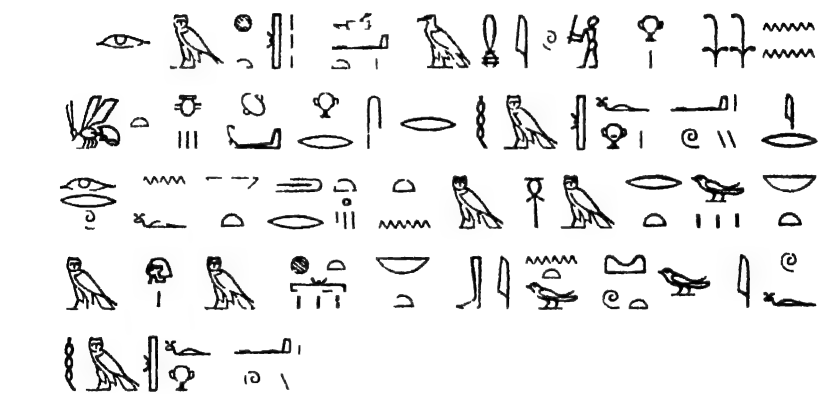
Alchemy. The Egyptians possessed great skill in the working of metals, gold, copper, iron, etc., under the Old Kingdom, and the crafts of the goldsmith, blacksmith, smelter and metal engraver attained a high pitch of perfection in the later periods of their history. But no evidence exists in the inscriptions that they were adepts in the art of alchemy, which is generally understood to have had for its object the transmutation of the baser metals into gold and silver. The word alchemy comes to us through the Arabic *al-kīmīā*, الكيمياء, *i.e.* "the kīmīā," (*al* being the article *the*); kīmīā, it is said, means the art and knowledge of Chēmē, or Kēmi, which is the Coptic form of Kamt, , Egypt. Now the name "Kamt" means the "black land" of the Delta as opposed to the "red land" or deserts of Upper Egypt, so "kīmīā" is the "Black Art of Egypt." In the Middle Ages this Black Art was often regarded as Black Magic, of which Egypt was the home.

Medicine. From the days of Homer downwards the Egyptians were famous for their skill in surgery and their knowledge of the art of healing. The practice of the art of mummification must have taught them something of **anatomy,** and there seems to be no doubt that they possessed much knowledge about the properties of certain herbs and their effect on

the human body. But it is impossible for modern medical experts to decide how great or how little was their knowledge of the art of healing, because we have no papyri that can be seriously regarded as Books of Medicine. Several papyri inscribed with long series of **prescriptions** are known, and those who are competent to pass an opinion upon the value of the few **diagnoses** given in them regard them as rudimentary and unscientific. It is well known that they used many vegetable and mineral substances in their medicines, but what these were cannot always be said, because in our present state of knowledge it is impossible to identify them. Besides these they used the excreta of men and of many kinds of animals, and other substances which we consider loathsome. Many of these disgusting prescriptions resemble those that were in use in Babylonia and Assyria and northern lands at a later period, and some of them found their way into the books of English herbalists.

The Egyptians thought that sickness and diseases were caused by demons and devils, who sometimes made their way into the limbs and members of the sufferers and could only be expelled by the help of spells and incantations, or by the direct assistance of Isis, or Thoth, or Imhetep. The help of the gods could be obtained by offerings and sacrifices, and the goodwill of the physician by liberal payments. The efficacy of the prescription depended upon the magical power, , *heka*,

which he could invoke, and the might of the god who could be persuaded to come and vanquish the demon of disease. The physician sometimes sprinkled the patient with holy water, or anointed him with holy oils, and the value of **massage** was well known. Amulets laid on the body or hung up in the sick man's room were used as means of healing. The physician and the magician and sorcerer held in his hand a short rod when reciting spells and exorcisms, from the time of the Old Kingdom to the days of Nektanebos, the last native king of Egypt; sometimes a hooded cobra was substituted for the rod. By pressing a part of the neck of the cobra it could be made to straighten itself out like a rod, and when the pressure was removed the creature assumed its normal form. This trick was practised by Pharaoh's sorcerers in the presence of Aaron and Moses (Exodus vii. 12), and the snake-charmers of Egypt perform it at the present day. The Egyptian could easily have become a scientific physician, but in medicine, as in astronomy and physical science, all development was made impossible by his belief in demonology and religious magic. The following is a prescription for headache from the Ebers Papyrus:—



"Another [prescription], the sixth, which was made by the goddess Isis for Rā himself to drive out the pain which was in his head :—

Coriander seed	1
Seeds of the *khasit* plant (poppy ?)	1
Sāam leaves.	1
Seeds of the *shames* plant	1
Juniper berries	1
Honey	1

"Make these into a single substance, rub down with honey, smear it over [the patient's head] so that he may get relief quickly. If all these remedies be applied to the patient suffering from pain of any kind in the head, or from any discomfort and trouble of any kind, he will obtain relief immediately." (*Ebers Papyrus*, Pl. 47, lines 5–10.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE EGYPTIAN RELIGION

THE religious texts found on the walls of the chambers and corridors of the pyramids of the Old Kingdom, and on the walls of innumerable tombs and sarcophagi and coffins of the Middle and New Kingdoms, and on the rolls of papyrus inscribed with the texts of the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead, prove that the Egyptians, in the long course of their history, at different times worshipped stones, trees, wells, mountains, beasts, birds, reptiles, their ancestors, and men whom they deified. Of the religion of the predynastic Egyptians and their methods of worshipping the various objects of their cult we know nothing, but the monuments of the Dynastic Period make it clear that from first to last the fundamental religious beliefs of the Egyptians never changed, though at different times, owing to changed circumstances, they were differently expressed.

The Egyptian was always, both by nature and habit, a moral and religious man, but he was always extremely practical, and the end and aim of all his moral and religious efforts was to secure for himself ease, comfort, and prosperity in this world, and a life of everlasting joy and happiness in the next. The oldest graves known to us supply proofs that he believed in a future life, though where and how he thought it was to be lived we have no knowledge. His descendants in the Dynastic Period had many theories and views on the subject, and however childlike and absurd they may seem to us, they were preserved in their religious literature down to the Roman Period Some of these theories flatly contradict each other, and this the Egyptian knew as well as ourselves, but he clung to them all and abandoned nothing, for in matters appertaining to the future life he considered no belief, however old or fantastic, to be unimportant. As a result of this attitude on the part of the Egyptian his religious texts contain a mixture of beliefs of all periods, which it is extremely difficult to classify and arrange chronologically.

The Pyramid Texts show that the Egyptian believed there was a time when the heavens and the earth and death did not exist, and when even the gods had not come into being. The number of the **" gods " of the Egyptians** whose names are mentioned in the Texts is between two and three thousand, but among them were many who were in reality only " spirits " of different kinds, and who are only

mentioned once. Every town, village, hamlet, and settlement had its local god, and some more than one, with whom each community had to keep on good terms; hence the large number of the gods is not surprising; but the Egyptian made all these "gods" in his own image, and he assumed that they ate and drank, and made love, and wore clothing, and that their feelings, passions and emotions resembled his own. He thought that they could be flattered, cajoled and wheedled into granting his requests, and even on occasions into assisting him to break the laws of the community and to acquire unlawful things. Such "gods" could be bribed by gifts and offerings of sweet-smelling incense, oils, meat, flowers, fruit and vegetables, beer and wine, and the presentation of such things formed one of the principal acts of worship of any and every god at all periods of Egyptian history.

Though the god of a nome had a greater reputation than a provincial or village god, and the national god of the Delta or of Upper Egypt was more important than the nome-god, the nature and dispositions of all of them were one and the same, and it was believed that under certain circumstances they could suffer like men. An interesting example of this fact is furnished by the well-known **Legend of Rā and Isis.** According to this Rā, the self-created god and the creator of the world and everything in it, maintained his sovereignty over gods and men by means of a great and secret name which was hidden within himself

and was known to none. The great goddess Isis, who possessed extraordinary magical power of speech and action, wished to become as great and powerful as Rā, and she wanted to rule over the earth jointly with him; she thought scorn of the powers of the gods and men. She decided in her mind that she could only attain to this power by getting possession of the great and hidden name of Rā. Now at this time Rā was old and feeble, and he dribbled at the mouth, and he had little or no control over his body. Then Isis took some earth in her hand and, kneading it up with the spittle which dropped from Rā in the sky, she fashioned it in the form of a serpent and, having endowed it with her magical power, she laid it down by the side of the path along which Rā was wont to journey every day.

In due course Rā, accompanied by his gods, came along, and as he passed close to the serpent that Isis had made, the reptile hurled itself at him and drove its fangs into his body. Immediately after this attack the god began to feel his vital power leaving him, and as the poison flowed through his veins his strength began to fail him, and His Majesty uttered a shriek which penetrated all heaven and reached the ears of the gods, who rushed to him, saying: "What is it? What is the matter?" But the action of the poison had been so rapid that Rā could not answer their questions and tell them what had happened. His jaws rattled together, his limbs quaked as with ague, for the poison had flooded all his members, just as the Nile during the Inundation floods all the land of Egypt. At

length the god managed to control himself sufficiently to speak, and he cried out to the gods who were accompanying him: "Come ye to me, O ye gods who came forth from my members and have been created by me, and I will tell you what hath happened. I have been wounded by some deadly thing. I feel and know that it is so in my heart, but mine eyes have not seen what thing did it. I did not make that thing with my hand, and I know not any one who would do this thing to me. I have never suffered pain such as this before, and there is no pain greater than that which I now suffer. As for me, I am King, the son of a King, my essence proceeded from a god. I am a mighty god, the son of a mighty god. My father did not remember the name I was to bear. I have many names and many forms, and my substance existeth in every god. Temu and Horus, who bestow names, have proclaimed me, and my father and my mother have uttered my name. My name was hidden inside my body by my begetter so that the words of power of those who would work magic upon me might not obtain dominion over me. I had come forth from my chamber to look upon what I had made, and was passing through the Two Lands (*i.e.* Egypt) which I had created, when something aimed a blow at me, but what it was I know not. Can it be fire? Can it be water? My heart is on fire, my limbs shake, and my members are full of twitchings. Let the gods who are lords of enchantments, and are skilled in uttering spells, and whose powers reach to heaven be brought to [my help] forthwith."

Then his children—all the gods—came to him there, weeping as they came, and Isis, with her enchantments, in whose mouth is the breath of life, whose commands (?) destroy diseases, and whose words bring the dead to life, also came. And Isis said: "What is the matter, O Father-god? What is it? A serpent hath shot poison into thee, a thing that thou hast made hath lifted up its head against thee. But it can be overthrown by efficacious words of power. I will make it to retreat from thee whilst thou lookest on."

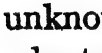
And the august god opened his mouth and said: ". . . I was bitten by a serpent which I did not see. Is it fire? Is it water? I am colder than water. I am hotter than fire. My limbs sweat, I quake, my eye hath no stability, I cannot look at the sky; my face is drenched with water even as in the time of summer." Then said Isis to Rā: "Tell me thy name, O divine father, for the person liveth who repeateth (?) his name." This, however, Rā was not willing to do, and he proceeded to describe his works thus: "I made the heavens and the earth. I knitted together the mountains, and created whatever is upon it (the earth). I made the waters, taking the form of Meht-urit. I made Ka-en-mut-f, the author of love-joys. I made heaven and I furnished the two horizons, and I set the Soul of the gods in it. I am he who openeth his eyes and light cometh into being, and when he closeth them there is darkness; when he uttereth the command the Nile riseth. The gods know not his name. I made the hours, I created the days, I open the festivals

of the year, creating the waters. I am the maker of the fire of life, causing the works in the houses to be performed. I am Khepera in the morning, Rā at noon-day, and Temu in the evening." But though Rā spake all these words the poison did not cease to flow through his body, and the god obtained no relief from his pain. Then Isis, who saw that the god had not uttered his name, said: "Among the words which thou hast spoken thy name is not mentioned. But only tell me thy name, and the poison shall come forth from thee. The person liveth who repeateth his name." Meanwhile the poison burned in the body of Rā, and the inflammation was greater than that caused by burning with fire.

At length Rā said: "I will allow myself to be searched through by Isis, and will let my name come out from my body and pass into her body." And the divine one hid himself from his gods, and his seat in the Boat of Millions of Years was empty Then Isis called her son Horus to help her, and she took the divine name of the god Rā from him. This done, she pronounced the following spell: "Discharge thyself, O poison, and come forth from Rā. O Eye of Horus, come forth from the god. . . . I, I work, and I make to fall on the ground the poison which hath been vanquished. Verily the name of the great god hath been taken from him. Rā shall live, for the poison is dead; the poison dieth and Rā liveth."

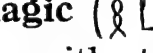
But though such views about the human nature of the gods were general in Egypt, passages in

the Books of Moral Precepts written by scribes and others show that at least some of the Egyptians did believe in the existence of a great and Supreme Being. Though, like the ancient Egyptians and Nubians, many modern peoples in the Sūdān adore demons of every kind, they also believe in the existence of a Supreme Being. But it seems that both the ancient and modern dwellers in the Nile Valley thought that this Being was too great and mighty to concern Himself with the affairs and destinies of human beings, and that He had permitted the management of this world and the destinies of human beings to fall into the hands of hordes of "gods" and demons, and good and bad spirits. They troubled themselves little about the good spirits, but they passed their lives in a state of fear and trembling, dreading the malignity of the bad ones, whom they tried to placate by gifts and abject adoration and service.

The Egyptian word which may be translated by "God" or "god" is "Neter," or "Nether," , , or , in the plural , , , ; the meaning of the word is unknown. The Egyptian Christians, or Copts, adopted this name for God in their translations of the Scriptures, where it appears under the form of ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, *Noute*. In the Books of Moral Precepts the article is often prefixed to Neter thus:  , *pa-Neter*, "the God," just as the Arabs always speak of "Allâh," *i.e.* Al-Allah,

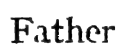
"the God." One sage wrote: "Seat thyself (*i.e.* repose) on the two arms of the God" (words which at once call to mind "the everlasting arms" in Deut. xxxiii. 27); "Commit thyself for security to the hand of the God"; it is "He Who bringeth a man into Amentt (*i.e.* the Other World), where he is safe in the hand of the God." Another sage wrote: "The things that God doeth cannot be known"; "Daily bread is according to the dispensation (or planning) of God"; "God loveth obedience, He hateth disobedience"; "A good son is indeed the gift of God." Another sage wrote: "Noisy, vain repetitions are an abomination to the sanctuary of God. Pray thy prayer with a loving heart in secret. He will do for thee all that is necessary for thy daily needs; He will hearken to thy supplications, receiving thine offerings." Some think that the God referred to in these passages was the local god, Rā or Amen-Rā, but, even if this be so, it does not do away with the fact that the writers of them conceived of the existence of an Almighty Being who possessed some of the attributes and power of God.

In the Precepts which King Khati wrote for his son in the third millennium B.C., he says: "God hath hidden Himself, knowing the dispositions [of men]; none can resist the lord of the hand. . . . The disposition of him that is right of heart is more acceptable than the ox of the evil-doer. Work for God. He will work for thee in like manner. . . . Regulate men and women, who [are] the flocks and herds of God. He made heaven and earth for their

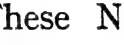
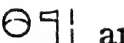
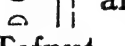
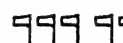
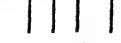
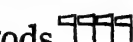
pleasures. He scattered the darkness (?) on the waters. He made the breezes of life for their nostrils, [for] they are the images of Him who came forth from His members. He mounteth up into the sky for their gratification. He hath made fruits and herbs, flocks and herds, fowl and fish for their subsistence. He slew His enemies, He destroyed His own children, because they conspired against Him and rebelled.[1] He made the daylight to please them, He journeyeth in a boat that He can look upon them (or, can be seen by them). He lifteth himself up in a shrine behind them. [When] they weep He heareth [them]. He gave them a Governor who was a ruler before his birth, a Captain to stiffen the back of the feeble man. He made for them **Magic** ( , *hekau*) to be a weapon wherewith to destroy the power of [untoward] happenings [and terrifying] visions by night as well as by day."

The mention above of the god who mounts up into the sky and travels in a boat certainly points to Rā, the great Sun-god, as the god who created men and things, and who sailed across the sky daily in an indestructible boat. But though the Egyptians made offerings to him in his temple, and hailed with joy the processions through the streets during which his statue was carried by the priests, it is impossible to believe

[1] The allusion is to the old tradition that Rā destroyed the men who came forth from his eye, because they reviled him; another legend says that Hathor, who was the eye of Rā, destroyed mankind.

that they thought that it was the jewel-studded gold figure which they saw who had created the heavens and the earth and themselves. The sun was the dwelling of the god in the sky, and his statue can only have been regarded as a temporary habitation for the occasions when he appeared on earth. Egyptian theologians in the earliest period asserted that Rā was the offspring of Temu, who proceeded from the primeval waters Nenu or Nu  , and that Nenu was the "Father of the Gods," including Rā. And Temu is made to say in the Book of the Dead (Chap. xvii), "I was alone (or, one). I came into being from Nenu," . In the same Chapter the "gods" are said to be only the **names** of Temu and Rā, and as Rā was only a name of Temu the Egyptians, from this point of view, had reason for saying that Rā, who appeared in the form of the sun, was the **one and only** God, and therefore the creator of everything that exists.

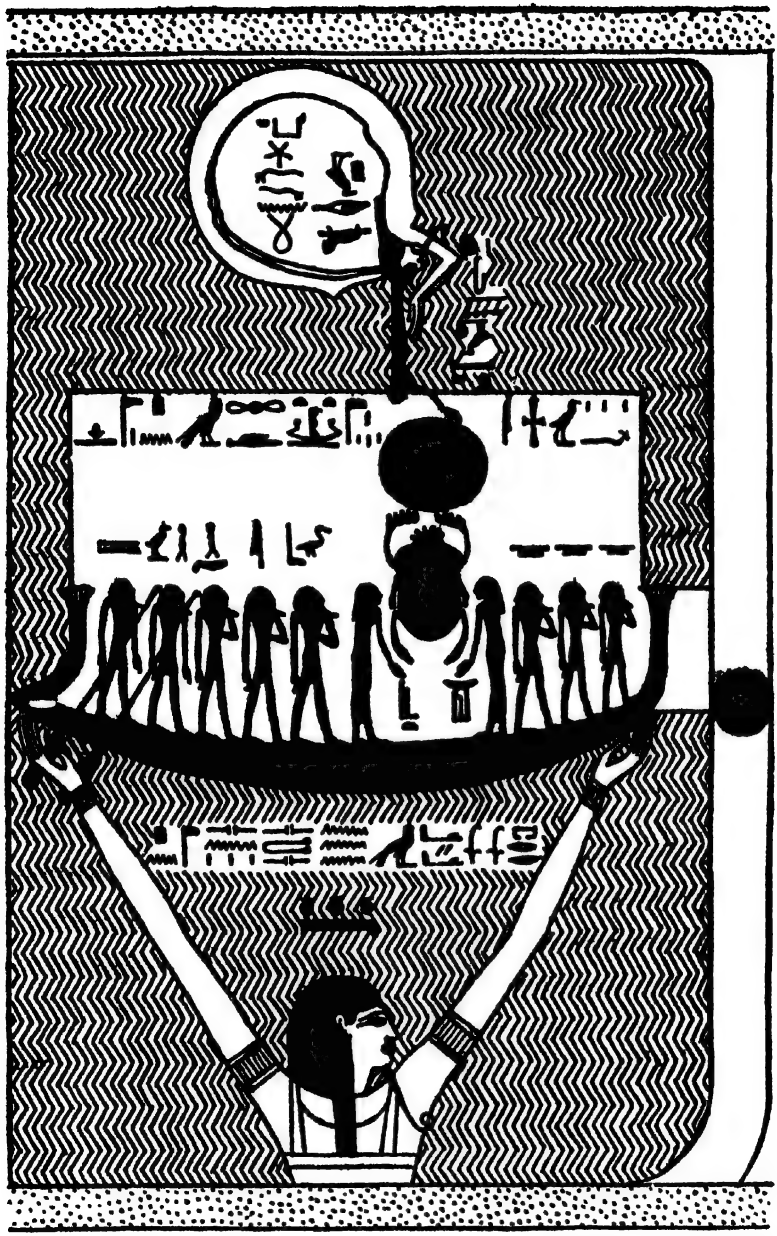
The oldest **Company of Nine Gods** in Egypt was that presided over by **Temu**; in addition to him it consisted of four gods and four goddesses, viz. Nu and Nut, Hehu and Hehuit, Keku and Kekuit, and Gerh and Gerhit. The first pair were the male and female properties of water, the second pair represented its everlasting existence, the third pair its darkness, and the fourth pair the night which enveloped it. This was the teaching of the

priesthood of Thoth of Khemenu (Hermopolis), and is probably older than dynastic civilization in Egypt. The gods of Thoth's Company had the heads of frogs, and the goddesses the heads of serpents, but the horrible and monstrous creatures that inhabited Apsū, the primeval waters of Babylonian mythology, are wanting. Under the Old Kingdom the priests of **Anu,** (the On of the Bible, and the Heliopolis of the Greeks), who were worshippers of the Sun-god Rā, invented another Company of Nine Gods, and made their god its president instead of Temu. These Nine Gods,  , *pestcht,* also written  and  , consisted of Rā, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set, Nephthys and Anubis or Horus, for the Nine, or Company, often contained more than nine gods, and sometimes as many as thirteen are mentioned. This was the "Great Nine" gods of heaven,  , but there was also a "Little Nine,"  , who were the gods of earth. The Pyramid Texts mention Three Nine-gods,  ; the Third Nine were probably gods of the Tuat, or Other World. The last five gods and goddesses of the Great Nine, namely, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Set and Anubis, were all the children of Nut, who is said to have brought all of them forth at a single birth; the gods married their

sisters and begot sons before any of them were born.

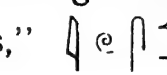
The magical and religious texts tell us much about the gods and their deeds, but there is only one text that helps us to understand the views of the Egyptians about the **Creation of Heaven and Earth,** and this, strangely enough, forms part of a magical ritual which was performed in the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes. The object of the ritual was the destruction of **Āpep,** a terrible monster that lived in the nethermost parts of heaven and endeavoured daily to prevent the rising of the Sun-god Rā, and to stir up lightning, thunder, tempests, storms, hurricanes and rain, and to obscure the light of the sun by filling the sky with clouds, mist, fog and blackness. He was symbolized in the ceremonies that were performed in the temple by a **waxen crocodile,** on which the name of Āpep was cut. This was wrapped up and placed inside a papyrus case on which the name of the monster was written in green ink, and then burnt in a fire of *khesau* herbs. Whilst it was burning the priest stabbed it with a knife, and spat upon it, and poured filthy water on it, and stamped upon it with his left foot. This ceremony was repeated several times during the day and night, and various Chapters of the **Book of Overthrowing Āpep** were recited at the same time.

The text that describes the **Egyptian Cosmogony** is called the "Book of knowing how Rā came into being, and how to overthrow Āpep." The story of the Creation is put into the



THE CREATION Nenu, the god of the primeval waters, lifting up the Ātet Boat of the Sun into the heavens. The solar disk is being rolled up into the sky by the Beetle-god Khepera; on one side is Isis and on the other Nephthys. The gods in the boat are Geb, A (Thoth), Hek, Hu and Saa. Beyond is the Tuat, or Kingdom of Osiris, which is circular in form and is surrounded by his body.

mouth of **Nebertcher,** the god who is the "Lord to the uttermost limit [of the universe]." He says: "There was no heaven, no earth, no serpents, no reptiles; all these I produced out of the inert watery mass Nenu. There was no place for me to stand upon. I uttered a spell over my heart (or, mind), in which I laid the foundations with strict exactitude of everything that I made [afterwards]. I was alone—for I had not then fashioned Shu and Tefnut, and there was no other being to work with me. I laid the foundations in my own heart (or, mind) of all the multitudes of things that came into being, and of all the things that were produced by them, and of everything to which they gave birth. I had union with my own shadow, , *khaibit,* and I begot in myself offspring, viz. the god **Shu** (*i.e.* the atmosphere and light and heat) and the goddess **Tefnut** (*i.e.* humidity and moisture). From being one god I became three gods, . I lifted up Shu and Tefnut out of Nenu in which they existed, and my Eye (*i.e.* the Sun) followed after them. Then I joined my members together, and I wept over them, and a man (or, men) came into being from the tears that fell from my Eye upon my members. My Eye was wroth with me when it came and found that I had made another [being] in its place. But I requited it with the gift of the spell which I had made, and I brought it forward to the place that it hath in my face, and since that time it hath

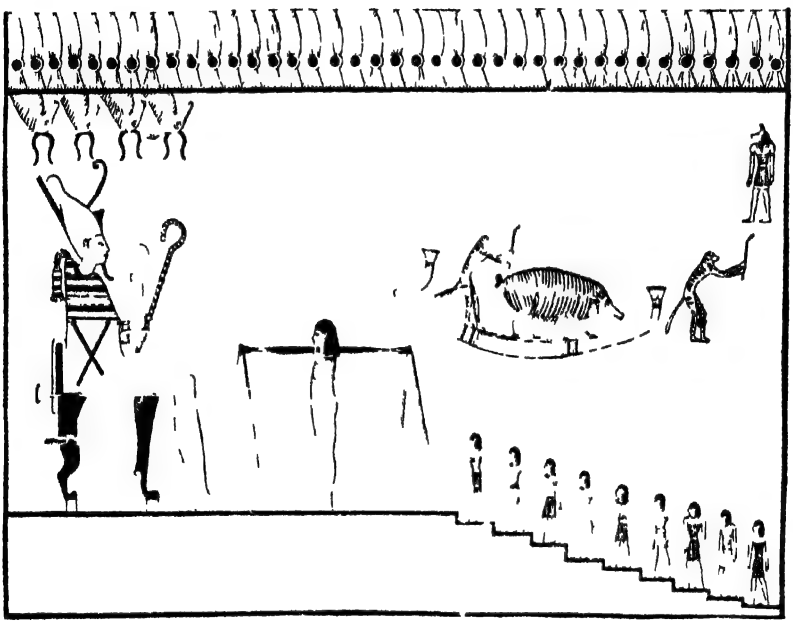
ruled the whole earth, and the power which I bestowed upon it falleth on vegetation and on the things that creep upon the earth. Shu and Tefnut brought forth **Geb** (the Earth-god) and **Nut** (the Sky-goddess), and Geb and Nut brought forth **Osiris, Her-khenti-an-maati** (*i.e.* the Blind Horus, or the Night sky without a moon), **Set, Isis,** and **Nephthys.**" In the other version of this narrative the god Khepera says: "My name is Ausares,"  , or Osiris.

The account of the Creation summarized above is found in a papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10188) which was written towards the close of the IVth century B.C., but the ideas and beliefs described in it are as old as dynastic civilization. The creation of Shu and Tefnut by Temu or Khepera from his own body is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts of the VIth Dynasty, and the fact that the oldest **Trinity** known consists of two gods and one goddess is noteworthy. The statement that the forms of every created object were depicted in the mind of the Creator before they existed is specially interesting, for it is reproduced in the writings of several of the early Fathers of the Christian Church. On the matter of how the Power of Evil, which is symbolized by the crocodile Āpep, came into being, the papyrus is silent. The Christian Fathers identify him with Satan, or the Devil, and hold that he was the general of the hosts of heaven who rebelled against God, and was hurled headlong to earth

and destroyed. The Egyptian texts show that Āpep was never destroyed, and that the utmost that Rā could do to him was to paralyse him by a glance of his eye, and to drive his spear-like rays into his body and shrivel him up, but Āpep recovered from these injuries, and though rendered impotent to-day was able to threaten the power and existence of Rā on the morrow. On another subject Nebertcher is silent, viz. the **Tuat,** ✶ , or Other World, or Underworld, that is, the abode of departed spirits, but as this region formed the kingdom of Osiris, a brief description of it will follow the account of this god. **Rā,** the Sun-god (the midday sun), was undoubtedly the national god of Lower Egypt during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and his priesthood at Anu-Resu, "the Southern Anu" (the Hermonthis of the Greeks and Armant, or Erment, of the Arabs), possessed considerable power.

But the greatest of all the gods of Upper Egypt was **Osiris** (at one time the moon-god), the centres of whose cult were Abydos and Pa-Asar (Busiris) in the Delta. When Amen was chosen to be the national god of all Egypt, Rā was associated with him, only his name came second and followed that of Amen; but from first to last neither companion nor counterpart was given to Osiris who, even under the Old Kingdom, ousted Rā from his supreme position in the funerary texts which his priesthood had assigned to him as the Great Judge in heaven. The position of Osiris as the god of the

dead, *par excellence*, and their Judge was never usurped by any other god. The Egyptians regarded Rā as the provider for their existence in this world, and Osiris as the cause and source of their lives in the next. It was, as the monuments



Osiris, in the form of a mummy wearing the Double Crown and Menat, (𓋴), and holding the emblems of "rule," 𓋹, and "life," 𓋹, seated on a chair of state, set upon a platform having nine steps. He, in the form of a mummy, is the support of the Great Scales. His Company of Nine Gods watch the working of the Scales. The two dog-headed apes (baboons) of Thoth are taking away Set (*i.e.* Evil), in the form of a black pig, in a boat. Anubis looks on. From the Book of Gates.

show, their duty to make offerings to the "gods" of their country and to honour the local god, but the wise man, in accepting the gifts of Rā, lived his life in such a way as to secure the acquittal of his soul at the trial to which it would be subjected in the Judgment Hall of

Osiris. In spite of their ancient universal trust in demonology the Egyptians, from the earliest times, believed that men would be rewarded or punished for the deeds done in the body, and that there would be a **Last Judgment.** The oldest description of this Judgment is found in a papyrus at St. Petersburg, and in it King Khati (about 2800 B.C.) says to his son :—

> "Know thou that the Tchatchaut, who judge wrongdoers, will show no pity on the day of judgment of wretched man, in the hour when they are performing their appointed duty. It is a terrible thing for the man who knows [his sin] to be charged with it. Buoy not up thy heart with the idea that length of years [will excuse thee]; they look upon a whole lifetime as a single hour. They make their trial after a man's death; his actions are [set] near him as evidence (?) In the Other World existence is everlasting, and he who puts this [fact] out of his mind is a fool. He who being guiltless attains to that place has an existence there like that of God, and like the Everlasting Lords he moves unfettered from place to place."

The Tchatchaut, , *i.e.* "Chiefs" or "Assessors," are well known from other texts. From the Book of Gates we learn that they kept the Registers of Osiris which contained the names of all those who are in the Other World, and the Book of the Dead (Chap. **xxx***b*)

shows that they watched the weighing of the heart of a man in the "Great Scales" and stood ready to intervene and bring forward any proof of its sinfulness. A very ancient tradition asserted that Osiris was judged by the great gods of Heliopolis, and that he was declared innocent of the charges brought against him by Set, his brother and enemy, chiefly through the good offices of Thoth, the scribe of the gods, who acted as his Advocate. The description of the Last Judgment by King Khati makes no mention of any Advocate, so we may assume that the introduction of such a helper of the deceased is a characteristic of the system of Osiris.

There is no text known at present which gives us in a connected form the history of **Osiris,** but the work of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*), and the facts that can be collected from the inscriptions, enable us to construct one with considerable accuracy. Osiris, in Egyptian , was a king of Egypt, and was therefore part man and part god. He reigned wisely, taught his subjects law, order, and religion, and by the introduction of cereals and the vine, and a superior form of agriculture, made his country prosperous. Having ordered his own kingdom he set out to visit other countries, and he instructed foreign nations, to their great advantage. During his absence his wife Isis administered his kingdom, but she was greatly troubled by her brother Set, who tried to undo all the good that Osiris had done. When Osiris returned Set determined to kill him

and to seize his wife, with whom he was in love. By a stratagem he made Osiris to lie down in a box, and when he had done so Set and his friends nailed the top of it down and covered it with lead, and Osiris was suffocated. They then threw the box into the Nile, and its waters carried it through the Delta and across the sea to Byblos (?), where a large Erica tree grew up round it. Isis found the box and hid it, but Set discovered it and, tearing it open, dragged out the body of Osiris and broke it into 14 pieces. Isis set out and collected these pieces, and wherever she found one she buried it and built a sepulchre over it. Osiris returned from the Other World and urged Horus to fight Set. He did so and vanquished Set, whom he handed over to Isis. To the chagrin of Horus she released Set from his bonds, and Horus was so angry that he tore the crown off his mother's head. Set accused Horus of being illegitimate, but the gods, at the instance of Thoth, non-suited Set, and Horus succeeded to the throne of Egypt. Later Isis companied with her dead husband Osiris, and the child Harpokrates was the result of the embrace.

The persecution of Osiris did not end with his murder by Set and his companions, for, hearing that Osiris was risen from the dead, Set brought a series of charges against Osiris, which were so grave that the Great Company of the gods decided to bring Osiris to trial in their abode in the heaven of Anu (Heliopolis). Whether the heart of Osiris was weighed in the Great Scales or not we do not know but, as

already said, Thoth investigated the charges made against Osiris by Set, and proved to the satisfaction of the gods that Set was a liar and that Osiris was "maā-kheru," , *i.e.* "a speaker of the truth." Osiris, as said above, had in some form visited this world, and must therefore have vanquished the powers of Death and the grave; and now that he had obtained a verdict of innocence from the gods of Heliopolis, the whole Company of the gods of heaven and of earth decided to make him the **Judge of the Dead.** They therefore assigned to him a kingdom in the Other World, though where exactly that was situated it is impossible to say.

Osiris is always represented in the form of a bearded mummy, ; he sometimes wears the White Crown, , and sometimes the Atef Crown, , *i.e.* the White Crown with two plumes and a pair of horns attached to it, and he holds the sceptre, , in his right hand, and the whip, , in his left. His beard is in the form of the beard worn by the men of Punt, and this and the White Crown together suggest that in his oldest form Osiris was a god from the South. He sits upon a throne which has the form of a funerary coffer with bolted doors, and it is probable that this was believed to contain a special portion of the body of the god. His grandsons, the four sons of Horus, usually stand on a lotus flower near him, and behind him are

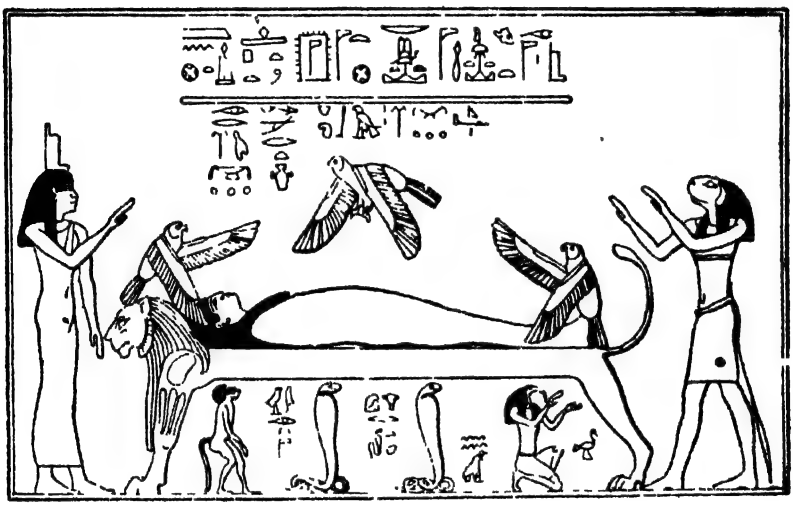
Isis and Nephthys; close to his throne the pied bull skin attached to a pole, , is often seen. The bodies of kings and chiefs were often buried in the hides of bulls, and instances of bull-skin burial are common in the Sūdān at the present day. This skin was called "Meska," , which is the name for the place of resurrection in heaven. The throne of the god was set upon water which came from the great celestial ocean, the walls of his shrine were flames of fire, and on its cornice was a row of the "Living Uraei" (*i.e.* sacred cobras).

The supreme position of Osiris was only challenged once, and the man who was bold enough to attempt to abolish the god was Amenhetep IV, king of Egypt about 1350 B.C., who endeavoured to make **Aten,** , the national god. According to his views Aten, that is the **Disk** of the sun, was the source of all life, and was the Sun-god, who manifested himself in solar heat. In other words, he made **Heat** his god, and called it "One," even as his predecessors had called Rā and several other gods "One." As an incarnation of Aten he believed himself to be the "One god," and therefore all the "gods" of Egypt, including Osiris and his Company, were impostors and nonentities. He ordered the name of Amen, the great god of Thebes, and the word for "gods" to be cut out from the inscriptions; he abolished the priesthood of Amen and confiscated their

revenues, and swept away, so far as he was able, all the ancient beliefs in the resurrection of the dead and immortality. He abandoned Thebes and built a new capital, which he called **Aakhutaten,** changed his name from Amenhetep to **Aakhuenaten,** built many temples to Aten, and for a time officiated as high priest. But he failed to establish Aten as the One, self-created, self-subsisting and self-existing god, and in less than 25 years after his death his capital, now known as Amārnah, or Tall al-'Amārnah, was in ruins, and he was only remembered with contempt. Amen, Lord of the World, triumphed, and Osiris, Lord of Heaven, retained his sovereignty unimpaired. Under the last Ramessid kings of the XXth Dynasty the priests of Amen obtained very great power, and when the last Rameses died Her-Her, the high priest of Amen, proclaimed himself king, and founded a line of **priest-kings** (Dynasty XXI, ruling at Thebes) Some of the princesses regarded Amen as more powerful than Osiris in the Other World, but they were all buried with the rites and ceremonies which the religion of Osiris prescribed, and all expected to receive from him the gift of resurrection and, with it, everlasting life.

The belief that a being, part god and part man, had died and risen from the dead seems to have been in existence among the predynastic Egyptians, but it is uncertain if that man was called Osiris. The religious views of the Egyptians underwent many changes under the kings of the Ist Dynasty, who built their tombs

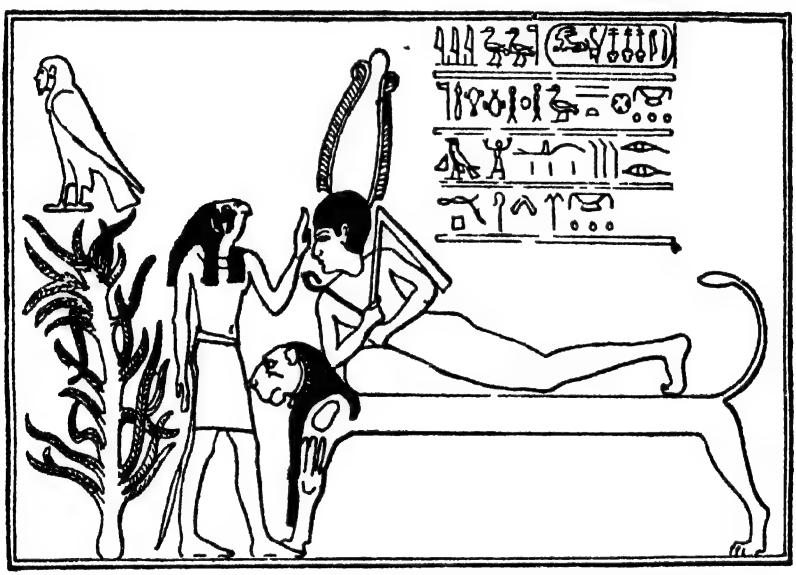
at Abydos, and some think that both the name of Osiris and certain elements of his religion were brought into Egypt by the invaders who conquered the country. No satisfactory meaning has been proposed for the name, and it is possible that , *Asar*, is a transcription of the



The mummy of Osiris Khenti Amenti, 'great god, lord of Abydos, lying on his bier with his soul, in the form of a hawk, hovering over him. Isis Heqit (the Frog goddess) and Thoth are reciting spells to bring about the resurrection of Osiris. The hawks at the head and foot of the bier represent Isis and Nephthys.

name of a foreign god. The similarities in the history of Osiris and the history of Bel-Marduk of Babylon are too striking to be dismissed lightly without consideration. Whether the Babylonians borrowed from the Egyptians, or the Egyptians from the Babylonians, or both peoples from a common source, remains to be decided. The cult of Osiris absorbed within it that of **Anher**, , an important

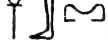
local god of the Abydos nome, and under the Ist Dynasty Osiris became the representative *par excellence* of the earlier African man-god who had died and suffered mutilation and had risen from the dead. The cult of Osiris flourished greatly under the Old Kingdom, but became unimportant under Dynasties VI–X; it revived



The soul of Horus (or Osiris ?) which stood waiting above the sacred tree at Abydos has been made by Horus to enter the body of the god, and Osiris is raising his body from the bier, having returned from the abode of the dead

under the XIth and XIIth Dynasties and resumed its earlier importance under the XIXth and XXIInd and XXVIth Dynasties. At Busiris and Mendes in the Delta the cult of Osiris absorbed the cults of the old sacred tree and the Ram-god, and the Book of the Dead shows (Chap. xvii) that the souls of Osiris and Rā became merged in each other in Tetu,

. In Ptolemaïc times the theologians joined Osiris to Hāpi, the sacred Bull-god of Memphis, and formed the new composite god of the dead, **Serapis,** and so satisfied Egyptians and Greeks alike.

The kingdom of the man-god Osiris was in Upper Egypt, and the place of his burial was Abtu,  , *i.e.* **Abydos,** in the Thinite nome. The sacred symbol of the "Great Land," as the place was called, was , or . The first of these represents a box, or case of some kind, from which the head of a serpent projects; above the box are two plumes, in the second the serpent is wanting, and two horns are added. The box presumably contained a portion of the body of Osiris, probably his head; both these symbols are very old, and when the White Crown, , was assigned to the god the plumes and the horns were added to it.

The tomb of Osiris and the tombs of the earliest dynastic kings are on the left or west bank of the Nile at Abydos, in the region called Amentt, or , and thither for many centuries the bodies of the dead from all parts of Egypt were taken to be buried. Here Osiris reigned over the dead, and one of his oldest titles is Khenti Amentt, , "President of Amentt," or ,

Khenti Amentiu, "President of those who are in Amentt." As a god Osiris was identified with many gods--water-gods, vegetation-gods, vine-gods, animal-gods, *e.g.* the Bull-god and the Ram-god—but here only his character as god and judge of the dead can be considered.

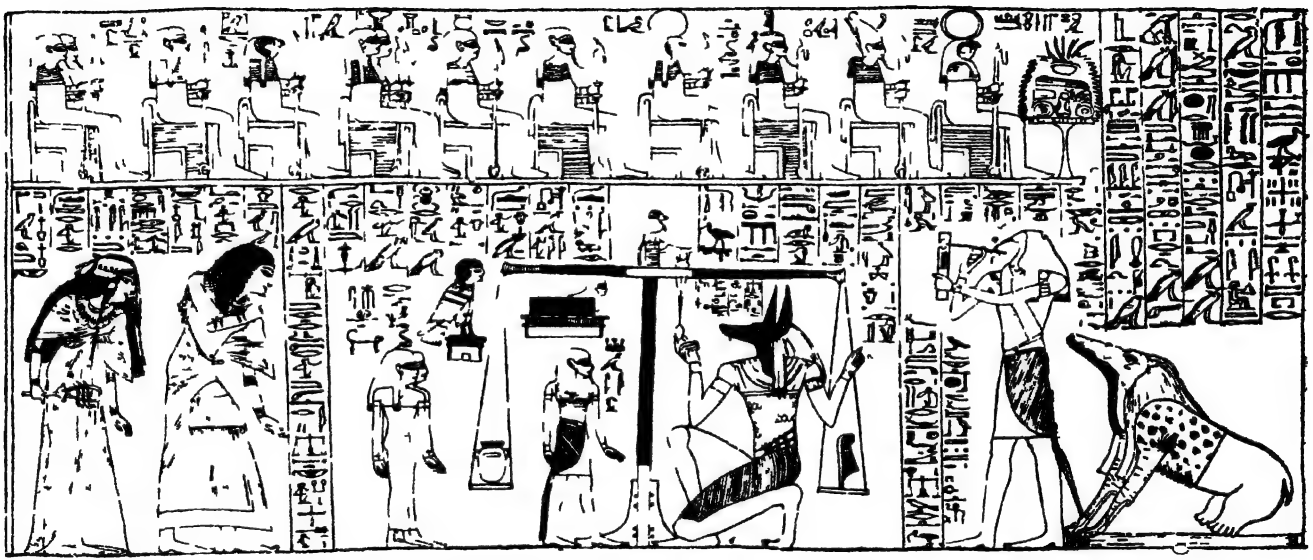
The religion of Osiris promised to those who followed it faithfully both **resurrection** from the dead and **eternal life,** but to obtain these the Osirian had to lead a moral and upright life, to avoid lying speech, deceitful actions, and duplicity of every kind, and to observe the laws of the national god and the local or town-god Under the Old Kingdom all breaches of the Moral Law, which was of a very high character, had to be paid for by gifts and offerings to the local shrines, but Osiris expected his followers to avoid all breaches of the Moral Law and sins, , *asfet*, so that he might not be obliged to call them to account when he judged them. He expected a man to have a clean **conscience** as well as clean hands and a clean tongue. And though the judgment of Osiris is described as a "weighing of words," , it included the weighing of intentions and motives and the actions prompted by them

Between the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasties a great development of the moral and religious views of the Egyptians took place, and we find them admirably summarized in the second part of Chap. cxxv of the Book of the Dead, which may be described as the Moral and Religious

Code of Osiris. It contains a series of 42 statements which the deceased was expected to make to 42 gods, one statement to each god. In each of these he asserted that he had not committed a certain sin. This Code was considered to be of such importance that it was drawn up in a tabular form, with a picture of each of the 42 gods addressed by the deceased, and was supplemented by Vignettes representing the weighing of the heart, , against the feather, , the symbol of the two Truth-goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, the god Thoth, etc. In the great Codices of the Book of the Dead a large Vignette of the Judgment Scene is placed at the beginning of the work, and from this we are able to get an idea of the method of procedure at the "Weighing of Words."

The Judgment Chamber was called the "Hall of Maāti." Along each side of it were, either seated or standing, 21 of the Tchatchau, or Assessors, to each of whom the deceased made his statement that he had not committed such and such a sin. In the fore-part of the Hall were set the Great Scales, with a dog-headed ape seated on the top of the pillar. This animal was chosen by Thoth as his associate because of the keenness of its vision and its great faculty of watchfulness. A pointer was attached to the beam of the Scales, and its markings were scrutinized by Anpu (Anubis), the great physician who embalmed the body of Osiris.

The deceased, having recited the names of the doors and door-posts of the Hall correctly,

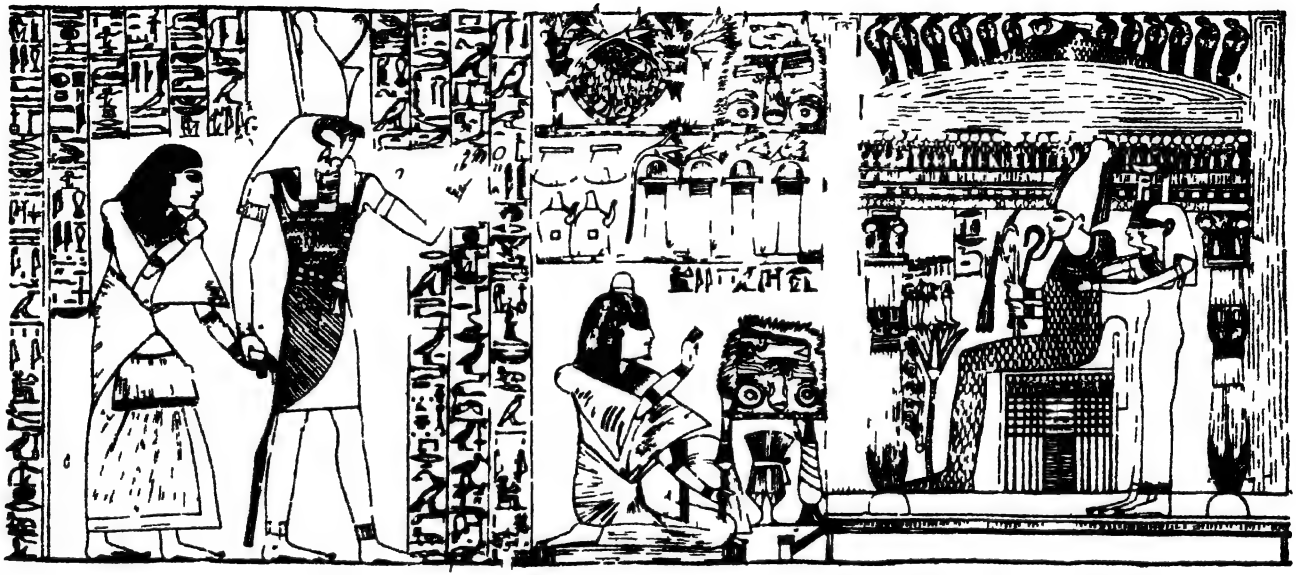


The weighing of the heart of the scribe Ani in the Judgment Hall of Osiris From the Papyrus of Ani About 1500 B.C.)

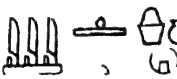
entered the Hall and stood with bowed head near the Scales. Close to the Scales stood his **soul**, in the form of a man-headed hawk, , *Ba*, the god Shai, *i.e.* destiny of the deceased, Meskhenit and Renenit, the two goddesses of birth and the birth-chamber, together with the man-headed object , which rests on a funerary building. In one pan of the Scales was a feather, , symbolic of Law and Truth, and in the other was the heart of the deceased. Whilst these things were being done the deceased prayed the prayer which tradition asserted was composed by the god Thoth, presumably for the use of Osiris when, in predynastic times, he was being tried in the divine Court of the gods of Heliopolis. This prayer was in use throughout the Dynastic Period, and even in the time of Cleopatra; it must be one of the oldest prayers in the world; it forms Chap. xxx*b* of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, and is entitled "The Chapter of not letting the heart of the deceased be driven away from him in the Underworld." It reads: "[O] my heart (*ab*) from my mother, O my heart from my mother! O my heart (*hati*, *i.e.* foremost part) of my being! Stand not up against me in the Judgment. Thrust me not back among the Tchatchau. Make not to be a turning aside [of the Scales] in the presence of the Guardian of the Scales. Thou art my KA, the dweller in my body the god Khnemu who endows with strength my members. Go forth

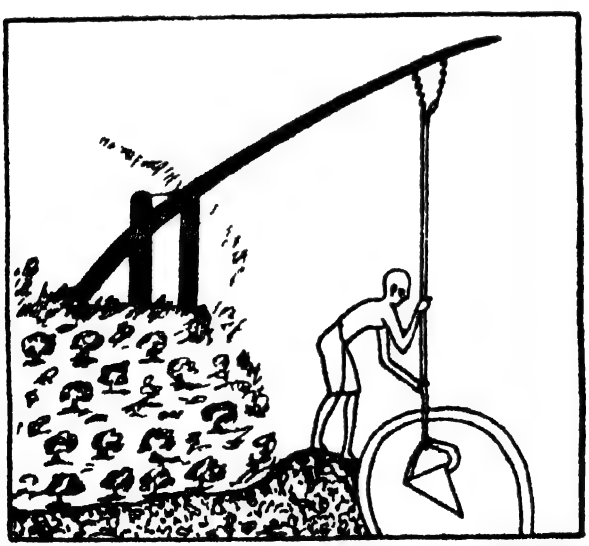
thou to the happiness whither we [would] go. Make not my name to stink with the Shenit gods [of the House of Osiris], who make men to stand firm. May we hear joyfully glad tidings at the Weighing of Words. Let not lies be told about me before the god [Osiris], the Great God, the Lord of Amentt. Verily exalt thyself rising up (?) at [the words] 'Maā-kheru' (*i.e.* true of voice, or truth-speaker)."

Meanwhile **Thoth,** the scribe of the gods, the great Advocate of Osiris, has taken up his position on the other side of the Scales, and with him is the monster **Ām-mitu,** the Eater of the Dead, which was part crocodile, part lion and part hippopotamus. Then Thoth, holding in his hands his writing reed and palette, received from Anpu the report that the heart of the deceased had been weighed in the Scales, that his soul had testified to its integrity, and that it had been "found true by trial in the Great Scales." The god added the statement that the deceased was no wicked man, no filcher of divine offerings, no evil-doer, and no calumniator of men. He then read this report to the gods, who declared forthwith that they had no ground of complaint against the deceased, and decreed that he should not be given to the Eater of the Dead, but should be led before Osiris, who would give him his reward. Thereupon Horus, taking the deceased by the hand, brought him into the presence of Osiris, and reported to him the result of the weighing of the heart of the deceased, and confirmed all that Thoth and



The scribe Ani, being declared to be a "truth speaker," is led by Horus the son of Isis, into the presence of Osiris. From the Papyrus of Ani. About 1500 B.C.

the gods had said. This done the deceased advanced and, kneeling before Osiris, said: "There is no sin in my body. I have neither told lies nor acted with deceit; make me one of those favoured beings who are in thy train." Osiris, being satisfied that he was admitting a speaker of the truth to his kingdom, assigned to the deceased an estate in the Sekhet-Aaru, , or "Fields of Reeds," and gave him permission to draw rations from the Sekhet-heteput,  , or "Field of Offerings," which was kept supplied by the faithful on earth, who brought offerings regularly to the sanctuaries of Osiris.



Picture of an ancient Egyptian Shâdûf being worked by a farm labourer From a wall painting in a tomb at Thebes

CHAPTER IX

THE LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

WE owe our knowledge of Egyptian Literature to the inscriptions on pyramids, temples, historical and biographical stelae, rolls of papyri, etc.; these are written in the hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic scripts, and cover a period of about 3,500 years. The language employed is Egyptian, of which there appear to have been three **dialects,** if not more. The foundations of the language are African, but at a comparatively early period additions to them were made as a result of the influence of the Semites. At a later time words were borrowed from the Libyans and the peoples of the Eastern deserts, and from Arabia and the countries beyond. The **style** is rhythmic, rhyme being unknown; the use of parallelism of members is frequent, and is often employed with very fine effect. The **Literature** of Egypt may be divided into two classes, **Religious** and **Profane,** and

at least three-quarters of it belong to the former class.

History.—No complete native history of Egypt exists, and it is probable no king was anxious to preserve a record of the doings of his predecessors. Good specimens of the historical documents are: the **Annals** of the campaigns of Thothmes III, copied from a leather roll, on the walls of the Temple of Amen at Karnak; the **Acts of Rameses III**, as found in the Harris Papyrus No. 1 in the British Museum; the account of the **Battle of Kadesh,** written by the court scribe Pentaurt; the account of the **Invasion of Egypt** by Piānkhi the Nubian; the **Annals of Nastasen** describing the defeat of Cambyses (?). Good examples of biographical inscriptions of a historical character are found on the tomb stelae of Una, Herkhuf, Antef, Amasis and other feudal lords of Al-Kāb, and in other places.

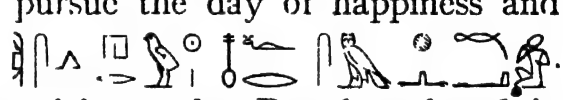
Chronology. The most important documents are the **Stele of Palermo,** the **King-lists** of Sakkārah, Abydos and Karnak, and the **Turin Papyrus,** which, when complete, contained a list of about 300 kings of Egypt, with the lengths of their reigns given in years, months and days. **Astronomy.**—Lists of the risings of stars were kept under the New Kingdom, and at a later period lists of the 36 Dekans and the 12 Signs of the Zodiac. **Astrology.** On this subject much literature probably existed, but little of it, except the **Calendars** of Lucky and Unlucky Days and Hours, has survived. Much of the ancient astrological lore is to be found in the

almanacks in use among the peasant population of Egypt at the present day. **Mathematics** (Geometry and Arithmetic) are represented by the Rhind Papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10057). **Geography** as a science was unknown, but we have a map of the gold-mines in the Sūdān, and a map of the sacred localities of the Fayyūm. **Medicine.**—Several books of collections of prescriptions are known, *e.g.* those in London, Paris, Leyden, Berlin and California, the longest and most important being the **Ebers Papyrus,** but no treatise on anatomy has come down to us. **The Law.**—Many documents of this class of literature exist, and they suggest that the Egyptians were fond of litigation. They deal with funerary endowments and benefactions, political and other adoptions, reports of law proceedings, etc.; the record of the prosecution of tomb-robbers by the Crown in the reign of Rameses IX is one of the most interesting of the last-named class of legal documents (B.M. Nos. 10053, 10054). **Songs.**—Fragments of a few songs of the folk-lore class have come down to us, and several **Love-songs** are preserved in the Harris Papyrus in the British Museum (No. 500). The latter closely resemble in phraseology the Song of Solomon. A translation of the **Song of Antuf** (Song of the Harper) has been given above (p. 135); it is a remarkable composition.

Narratives or **Short Stories.**—Among these may be mentioned as of special interest: The **Story of Sanehat.**—Here we have the story and adventures of a young man who,

for some reason not quite clear, flees from Egypt into Palestine, where he is welcomed by the natives. He marries and begets a family, and gains great renown by defeating and slaying a mighty man of war who had challenged him to combat; this part of the story resembles that of the killing of Goliath by David. At length he yearns for his native country, and finally he returns there and is warmly received by the king and his family; there he dies and is buried in a tomb provided for him by the king. In the **Story of the Shipwreck** we read of a man who is shipwrecked and cast up on a phantom island, where he found an abundance of fruit and fish, and having used the fire-stick he made a fire and offered up a sacrifice to the gods. In due course he met the Genius of the island, *i.e.* a snake nearly 50 feet long with a beard over 3 feet long. It received him in a most friendly manner, conversed with him, and eventually loaded him with gifts and sent him away on a ship which happened to visit the island. A very interesting set of **Stories of Magicians** is found in the Westcar Papyrus in Berlin; the contents of some of these have already been alluded to The **Tale of the Two Brothers** gives us a series of very short stories which originally had no connection with each other; a brief summary is given further on in this Chapter. The **Story of the Doomed Prince,** which unfortunately is incomplete, shows that there is no way of escaping from one's Fate.

As **Historical Romances** may be mentioned the story of the **quarrel** between the

Hyksos Rā-Apepi, king of Lower Egypt, and Seqenen-Rā, king of Upper Egypt (B.M. No. 10185), and the **Capture of Joppa** by an officer of Thothmes III. The latter romance has resemblances to the Arab story of Alī Bābā and the Forty Thieves. The literature of **Travels** is represented by the story of **Unuamen,** who was sent to Syria to obtain cedar-wood wherewith to build a new barge for the god Amen. He was robbed on his journey into Syria, and on his way back found himself in Cyprus. The story is incomplete. As examples of contemplative and semi-prophetical literature we have: 1. The **Dialogue** between a man and his soul; though he is tired of life, he nevertheless advises his hearers to "pursue the day of happiness and forget care,"  . 2. The **Admonitions of a Prophet,** found in a papyrus at Leyden; some of his utterances have been thought to be Messianic in character. 3. The **Lamentations** of Khākheperrā-seneb, found on a wooden tablet in the British Museum (No. 5645). 4. The **Prophecy** of Nefer-Rehu, in a papyrus at St. Petersburg. 5. The **Lament of the Peasant**, found in papyri in Berlin. **Religious Magic** is illustrated by the works found in the Salt Papyrus (B.M. No. 825) and in the Harris Papyrus (B.M. No. 10051), and by the **Book of Overthrowing Āpep** (B.M. No. 10188).

Legends of the Gods.—Among these may be mentioned the Legends of Rā and Isis (summarized above, p. 203 f.), the Creation of the

World by Khepera, the Destruction of Mankind, Horus of Edfū and the Winged Disk, Khensu-hetep and the Possessed Princess, Khnemu and the Seven Years' Famine the Resurrection of Osiris and the Birth of Horus, the Death and Resurrection of Horus, the Wanderings of Isis, as told in the Metternich Stele. **Rituals.** -The oldest of these are the "Book of Opening the Mouth" and the "Liturgy of Funerary Offerings," whereby the transmutation of foods and drink took place. Of divine Rituals the longest and best known is the Daily Service used in the Temple of Amen at Thebes. **Comic Caricature** is illustrated by a papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10016). **Books of Moral Precepts.**--Several of these have been preserved, and the series now available for study enable us to follow the development of moral ideas in Egypt from about 3000 B.C. to the end of the Dynastic Period. The authors were Kagemna, a Wazīr of King Huni (IIIrd Dynasty), Ptah-hetep, a Wazīr of King Assa (Vth Dynasty), Tuauf, a royal official (VIth Dynasty), King Khati (IXth or Xth Dynasty), Amenemhat I, Schetepabrā, an officer of Amenemhat III, Amenemapt, a minister of Agriculture, and the scribe Ani.

Religious Literature.--The oldest collection of Magical-Religious texts is found inscribed in hieroglyphs on the walls of the chambers and corridors of the Pyramids of Sakkārah, which are the tombs of kings of the VIth Dynasty. These form the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead. Another collection, containing

Chapters from the above-mentioned Pyramid Texts and several others, probably of a more recent date, was inscribed in hieratic on wooden sarcophagi and coffins of the XIth and XIIth Dynasties. Fine examples of these are the sarcophagus of Amamu and the sarcophagi and coffins from Al-Barshah. The texts on these form the Recension of the Book of the Dead in use in Upper Egypt under the Middle Kingdom. Some time after the XIIth Dynasty the **Theban Recension** of the Book of the Dead came into being. The oldest papyri containing it are written in hieroglyphs, *e.g.* the Papyrus of Nu, the Papyrus of Nebseni, the Papyrus of Iuaa, the Papyrus of Ani, etc., but under the XIXth Dynasty collections of Chapters from it were written in hieratic, and in the Papyrus of Nesitanebtashru (XXIst Dynasty) the whole work is in hieratic. The Theban Recension is illustrated by a long series of Vignettes, painted sometimes in monochrome, and sometimes in many bright colours. In the **Saïte Recension** the Chapters are written both in hieroglyphs and hieratic, and the Chapters have a fixed order; the Vignettes are drawn in black outline. The Book of the Dead contains a large number of spells and incantations which the deceased was supposed to repeat if he found himself in trouble or danger on his journey from this world to the Kingdom of Osiris. Besides these we find in it hymns, litanies, prayers, exegetical texts, plans of the mummy-chamber, the Judgment Hall of Osiris, the Elysian Fields, with explanatory texts, drawings of the Gates and Divisions of the

Underworld, the Ritual of the Lamps (Chap. cxxxvii), drawings of the Boats of Rā, and a great mixture of miscellaneous mythological texts and traditions, belonging to all periods and emanating from many different parts of Egypt. All were intended to help the deceased, and the whole book was regarded as an amulet of great power. Parts of it, *e.g.* the texts relating to the Judgment of Osiris, were in use in the Roman Period.

Later funerary works based on the Book of the Dead were the "Book of Breathings," the "Book of Traversing Eternity," the Book "May my name flourish," etc. Works recited in connection with the **Miracle Plays** of Osiris were the "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," the "Litanies of Seker," etc. During the process of embalming the dead the "Book of Embalmment" was recited. At one period of Egyptian history the theologians wrote **"Guides"** to the Underworld, the most interesting of these being the "Book of Gates," and the "Book of him that is in the Tuat." These supplied the deceased with a full description of the places through which he would pass and the names of the beings he would meet, and gave him the words of power necessary for him to complete his journey safely. **Hymns** to the gods form a large section of Egyptian religious literature; the most important are the Hymns to Osiris, Rā, Rā-Harmakhis, Amen and Thoth. The literature written in demotic is considerable, and consists of works of magic, tales illustrating

the power of magicians, collections of moral precepts, various kinds of legal documents, marriage contracts, etc.

Magic.—The Egyptians in all periods believed that earth, air, fire and water were filled with spirits, each one of which was able to inflict injury upon them. Some were found by them to be kindly and well-disposed towards man, but the greater number of them were believed to be malicious, vindictive and hostile to man and all his works. The great god who had made the universe was thought to be indifferent to the affairs of mankind, and to have permitted the spirits to obtain almost unlimited power and authority over man and his possessions. The Egyptians troubled themselves little about the good spirits, though they made offerings to them, and addressed words of respect and even of affection to them. But they were horribly afraid of the evil spirits, and they spared no pains in placating them and in trying to annul their power. The art of dealing with spirits of all kinds, *i.e.* magic, was carefully studied by the priests, who were to all intents and purposes in the earliest times **magicians** pure and simple. The Egyptians of all classes esteemed magic highly, and King Khati stated in the work that he wrote for his son, that **Heka,** , *i.e.* **Magic,** was invented by Rā himself (*see* p. 210). Rā apparently did not care to trouble himself about mortal affairs, and therefore gave to man the gift of **Heka,** so that he might be able to control the invisible

CIPPUS OF HORUS—OBVERSE

Harpokrates, wearing the lock of youth and standing on crocodiles within a canopy made of the body of the serpent Mehen, and held in position by Isis and Thoth Above him is the head of the Aged Sun god His mastery over noxious animals is shown by his holding scorpions and serpents and savage animals in his grasp

CIPPUS OF HORUS—REVERSE.

Polytheistic figure representing the "Old man who renews his youth," *i.e.* Rā, the Sun-god, who comprises in his own person all the powers, attributes and forms of every kind of living creature. The text contains a series of spells which were intended to break the power of the Seba fiends, and of the crocodiles and other evil reptiles.

and supernatural powers, both good and bad, for himself. When **Heka** was used by man to benefit his fellow-man, we may term it **White Magic**; and when it was employed to slay or injure man or beast, **Black Magic.** The men who became professional magicians no doubt possessed psychological powers above the ordinary, and were persons of ability and great shrewdness. They were skilled in all the learning of their time, and wrote the spells and incantations and charms which they used; their assistants performed the rites and ceremonies that were the necessary accompaniments of the spells. The chief instrument of the magician was the **spell.** To use this effectively he had to be a properly qualified person, and to wear the garb and bear the equipment of such. He had to recite the magical formula in a certain tone of voice, clearly and correctly, for if he forgot any part of it, or garbled it, the spell was inoperative. And the rites and ceremonies had to be performed with scrupulous care. Ceremonial purity of both person and place was absolutely necessary. The magician wrote amulets for his clients on papyrus, leather, wood and stone plaques, and figures made of wax, wood, and stone, using names of power, magical diagrams, etc., and strings of meaningless syllables of somewhat similar sounds. The most curious of all the monuments left by the Egyptian magician are probably the little tablets, rounded at one end, that were placed in the walls of houses and under the floors to protect their owners from the attack of evil

spirits, fiends, demons, hobgoblins, and every kind of baleful influence that the Egyptians could imagine. Such a tablet is commonly called a **Cippus** (*i.e.* pillar) **of Horus,** and the finest example known is that which was published by Golénischeff (*Metternichstele*, Leipzig, 1877). It is figured on pp. 244 and 245. On this monument are sculptured nearly 300 figures of the gods of heaven, earth, and the Tuat, or Underworld. On the sides and Reverse are cut a series of magical legends in hieroglyphs; for descriptions of the figures and translations of the texts *see* my *Legends of the Gods*, London, 1912. This Cippus originally stood in a prominent place in some building, probably a temple, and was intended to protect it and those who were in it every moment of the day and night. On it are figures of all the gods and goddesses of the cults of Rā and Osiris, and the gods of the seasons of the year, the months, the weeks, the days of the week, the hours, the planets, the Signs of the Zodiac, the Dekans, etc. It was believed to protect Psemthek-Ānkh, who had it made, from the attacks of Set, Āpep and other gods of evil, and from every injury that noxious reptiles and Typhonic animals had the power to inflict upon man.

The following extracts illustrate some of the characteristics of Egyptian Literature :—

Hymn to Osiris.- Homage to thee, Osiris, Lord of eternity, king of the gods, whose names are many, whose forms are holy, whose attributes are hidden in the temples, whose Ka is august, President of Tetu (Busiris and Mendes), mighty

one, dweller in Sekhem, the praised one in the nome of Ati (?), President of Anu, the Lord commemorated in Maāti, the Hidden Soul, the Lord of the Circle of the Underworld, the holy one of Memphis, the Soul of Rā, whose very body rests in Hanes, beneficent one, who art hymned in Nart, the raiser up of his soul, the Lord of the temple in Khemenu, the mightily feared one in Shashetep, the Lord of eternity, President of Abtu (Abydos). The path of his throne is in the Holy Land, his name is established in the mouths of men, he is the substance of the Two Lands (Egypt). . . . He is the President of the Company of the gods, the beneficent Spirit among spirits, for him Nu pours out his waters, to him approaches the wind at eventide, the breeze comes to his nostrils to the satisfaction of his heart, he renews his youth. . . . The heights of heaven and the stars obey him. He makes the mighty gates to open before him, he who is praised in the southern heaven and adored in the northern heaven. The never-setting stars are under his rule, and his abodes are the stars that never rest, offerings come to him by the command of Geb. The Companies of the gods praise him, the stars of the Tuat adore him, the ends of the earth bow before him, the boundaries of the sky pray to him [when] they see him, the holy dead fear him, the whole earth praises him [when] it meets His Majesty. He is the glorious Master at the head of the masters, endued with higher rank, stablished in dominion. He is the Beautiful Sekhem (*i.e.* Power) of the Company of the gods, gracious of face and beloved by those

who see him He has set his fear in all lands, and through their love for him they exalt his name above every other name. All nations make offerings to him, he is commemorated in heaven and upon earth. He is greatly acclaimed in the Uak festival, the Two Lands with one voice utter cries of joy. He the great one is the first among his brethren, he is the Prince of the Company of the gods, and the stablisher of truth throughout the Two Lands. He has set his son [Horus] upon the great throne of his father Geb. He is the darling of his mother Nut. Great of might he overthrew the Seba fiend, he stood up, slaughtered his enemies and set his fear in his foes . . firm of heart (or, will), his legs stand firm. He is the heir of Geb and of the sovereignty of the Two Lands. Geb has seen his excellence and has entrusted to him the ruling of the world so long as times and seasons last. With his hand he made this earth, and the water, air, vegetation, cattle, feathered fowl, fishes, creeping things and beasts of all kinds. The desert belongs by right to the son of Nut (*i.e.* Osiris), and the Two Lands rejoice to crown him upon the throne of his father like Rā. He rises in the horizon, he lightens the darkness, from his plumes he shoots forth light and brilliance like Athen (*i.e.* the solar disk). He floods the Two Lands with splendour in the early morning. His white Crown pierces heaven, he is a brother of the gods, the guide of every god. He is gracious in command and speech, he is the favoured one of the Great Company of the gods, and the beloved of the Little Company of the gods.

[**The Birth of Horus.**] His sister [Isis] protected him, driving off his enemies, turning aside evil happenings with the spells of her mouth, the weighty utterances of her tongue, the infallibility of her speech, and the effectiveness of her command and word. Isis the enchantress, the avenger of her brother [Osiris], sought him untiringly, and travelled about over this earth sorrowing, and rested not until she had found him. She produced warmth from her hair, she caused air to come by [the beating of] her wings, and she uttered doleful cries for her brother. She caused movement to take place in what was inert in the Still Heart (*i.e.* the dead Osiris), she drew essence from him, she made flesh and blood, she suckled [her] babe in loneliness, no man knowing where he was. The child grew up, his hand became mighty in the House of Geb (*i.e.* the earth), and the Company of the gods rejoiced greatly at the coming of Horus, the son of Osiris, stablished of mind, true of voice, son of Isis, heir of Osiris. (From a stele in Paris.)

Hymn to Aten. Thy rising is beautiful in the horizon of heaven, O Aten, ordainer of life. Thou risest in the eastern horizon, filling every land with thy radiance. Thou art beautiful, great, splendid and raised up above every land; thy rays, like [those of] Rā, deck every land thou hast made. Thou hast taken them (*i.e.* the lands), however many they may be, and hast made them subject to thy son. Thou art far away, but thy beams are on the earth; thou art on [men's] faces, they [admire] thy goings.

[When] thou settest in the west, the earth is dark as with death. Men lie down in their cabins shrouded in wrappings; one eye (*i.e.* person) cannot see his companion, and if all their goods that are under their heads be carried off they cannot see [the thief]. The lion comes out of his den, creeping things bite (*i.e.* eat), the darkness is their shelter. The land is silent [for] their maker hath set in his horizon. Thou risest up in the horizon at dawn, thou shinest in the Disk in the day, thou scatterest the darkness. Thou sendest out thy rays, the Two Lands rejoice, [men] wake up and stand on their feet, for thou raisest them. They wash, they dress themselves, they give thanks for thy rising, they do their work. All beasts and cattle turn into their pastures, the grass and herbs flourish, the water-fowl fly over their marshes, their feathers praising thy Ka. As soon as thou risest all the beasts stand up, and feathered fowl and reptiles of all kinds spring into life.

At thy rising the boats sail up and down the river, every road opens out, the fish swim up towards thy face, thy beams go down into the seas. Thou createst seed in men, thou fashionest it into offspring in women, thou makest the son to live in his mother's womb, making him to be silent and not to cry out. Thou art a nurse in the belly, giving breath to sustain life in what thou hast created. When the child is born, and on the day of his birth openeth his mouth after the manner [of babes], thou providest food for him. The

chick cheeps inside the egg, thou givest it air so that it can live. Thou perfectest its body, it breaks the shell from inside, it comes out of the egg, it chirps with all its might, having come forth it walks on its two feet. O how many are the things which thou hast made! they are hidden from [one's] face, O thou God One who hast no counterpart! Thou, existing alone, didst by thy heart (or, will) create the earth and every thing that is thereon—men, cattle, beasts and creatures of all kinds that move on feet, all the creatures in the sky that fly with wings, the deserts of Syria and Kesh (Cūsh), and the Land of Egypt.

Thou hast assigned to every one his place, providing the daily food, each receiving his destined share; thou decreest his span of life. The speech and characteristics of men vary, as do [the colours of] their skins, the dwellers in foreign lands having their distinguishing marks. Thou hast made the Nile in the Tuat, thou bringest it at thy will to make men to live. Since thou didst make them for thine own purpose, it is for thee, their Lord, to support them. . . . O Lord of every land, thou shinest upon them, O Aten of the day, thou mighty one of majesty. Thou createst the life. Of the foreign desert, and of all deserts, O Lord of the way (?) thou createst their life. Thou hast set a Nile in heaven, it descends upon them. It makes on the mountains (or, hills) a flood like the Great Green Sea, it waters the fields about their villages. How perfect, wholly perfect, are thy plans, O Lord of Eternity!

Thou art a Nile in the sky for all those who dwell in the deserts of foreign lands, and for all the beasts of the plains that move upon feet. The Nile comes from the Tuat for the Two Lands of the Inundated Country. Thy beams are the nurse of every plantation; thou risest, they live, they flourish through thee. Thou makest the Seasons to develop every thing that thou hast created; the season of Pert (*i.e.* November–March), that they may enjoy refreshment, and the season Heh (*i.e.* March–November), so that they may taste thee (*i.e.* feel thy heat). Thou hast made heaven which is remote that thou mayest rise up therein and look upon everything that thou hast made. Thou art he who is the One, the one who rises up among the things thou hast made as the **Living Aten,** rising, shining, departing afar off, returning. Thou hast made millions of forms from thy Oneness—cities, towns, villages, roads and river; every eye (*i.e.* all men) has them in front of it. Thou art **Aten of the Day** in the highest. . . . (From the Hymn of Ai to Aten.)

A Prayer of the steward Nu to Osiris and the Forty-two gods of the Judgment. Homage to thee, O Great God, thou Lord of Truth. I have come to thee, O my Lord; I have come hither to behold thy beneficence. I know thee. I know thy Name. I know the names of the Forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of Maāti, who keep ward over sinners, who feed upon their blood on the day when the lives of men are judged in the presence of the god

Un-Nefer. . . . Verily I come to thee, I bring Truth to thee, I have destroyed sin for thee. I have done no evil to mankind. I have not wronged my kinsfolk. I have not committed sin in the place of Truth. I have not known worthless men. I have not done evil. I have not insisted that excessive work should be done for me daily. I have not thrust forward my name for honour. I have not entreated servants cruelly. I have not thought scorn of God. I have not robbed the poor of his goods. I have not done that which is hateful to the gods. I have not caused a master to injure his slave. I have not inflicted pain. I have allowed no man to suffer hunger. I have made none to weep. I have not committed murder. I have not made any man to commit murder for me. I have not cheated the temples of their offerings. I have not stolen the bread of the gods. I have not stolen the bread of the blessed dead. I have not committed fornication. I have not defiled myself in the sanctuary of the god of my city. I have not cheated in measuring the bushel. I have not stolen land. I have not seized wrongfully the fields of others. I have not cheated with the scales. I have not declared the weight wrongly. I have not taken milk from the mouths of babes. I have not driven cattle from their own pastures. I have not snared the fowl in the preserves of the gods. I have not caught fish with bait made of fish of their kind. I have not stopped the flow of water [on the fields]. I have not made a breach in a canal. I have not

extinguished a lamp (or, fire) when it should burn. I have not defrauded the gods of their meat offerings. I have not driven off cattle from the pastures of the gods. I have not thrust back the god when he would come forth. I am pure, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure. . . . O declare ye me righteous in the presence of Nebertcher, for I have done what is right in Ta-Mera (Egypt). . . . I live upon truth, I feed upon truth. I have performed the commandments of men and the things that please the gods. I have made the god to be at peace with me by doing his will. I have given bread to the hungry man, and water to the thirsty man, and a boat to him that was shipwrecked. I have made offerings to the gods, and given sepulchral meals to the Spirits (*i.e.* the dead). Therefore deliver me and protect me, and bring no charge against me in the presence [of the Great God]. I am clean of mouth and clean of hands; therefore let it be said [by the gods] when they see me, Welcome! Welcome! I have testified before Hrafhaf (*i.e.* the Divine Ferryman), and he has acquitted me I have prayed to the gods, and I know their persons. I have purified my breast with clean water, and my back with the things that make clean, and I have steeped my inward parts in the Pool of Truth; there is no member of mine lacking in truth. (From the Book of the Dead, Chap. cxxv.)

A Prayer to Osiris. Homage to thee, O my divine Father Osiris! Thou livest, having thy members. Thou didst not decay, thou didst not become worms, thou didst not crumble

away, thou didst not become corruption, thou didst not putrefy. I am the god Khepera, and my members shall have an everlasting existence. I shall not decay. I shall not rot. I shall not putrefy. I shall not turn into worms. I shall not see corruption before the eye of the god Shu. I shall have my body, I shall have my body; I shall live, I shall live; I shall germinate, germinate, germinate; I shall wake up in peace; I shall not putrefy; my reins and inward parts shall not perish; I shall not be lacking in any member. Mine eye shall not be dimmed; my features shall not be changed; my ear shall not be deaf; my head shall not be removed from my neck; my tongue shall not be cut out; my hair shall not be cut off; my eyebrows shall not be shaved off; I shall suffer from no damaging defect. My body shall be established perfect and shall neither be ruined nor destroyed on this earth. (Book of the Dead, Chap. cliv.)

Precepts of Amenemapt, who says: Lend me thine ears, I pray; hearken to the things that I am about to say. Give thy mind to the difficult matters that I am about to unravel for thee. It will be to thy advantage to set them in thy heart, to reject them will be a calamity for thee. Set them in the treasury of thy belly, for they will enable thee to keep a right heart, and they will be a guide for thy tongue. If thou wilt live and keep them in thy mind daily, they will help thee in the time of adversity. Thou wilt find my words to be a storehouse of life and a source of strength and safety [so long as thou art] upon the earth.

Take heed not to rob the poor, and be not cruel to the destitute. Turn not thy hand from the old man, pretending to be a great man. Send not on a mission of danger the man for whom thou hast affection. If thou canst answer the man who attacks thee do him no injury. Let the evil-doer alone ; he will destroy himself. We must help the sinner, for may we not become like him ? Set him on his feet, give him thy hand, commit him to the hand of the God. Feed him with bread, give him drink, for it is in the heart of the God to show another act of compassion. Join not thyself to the chatterer ; avoid him ; leave him to the God who knows how to requite him. Encroach not on the property of the God, and make not a servant of His to neglect his duty for the benefit of another man. Say not, To-day is even as to-morrow. Encroach not on the lands of the blessed dead. Steal not land from the widow when marking out fields for cultivation. Break not down landmarks. Make offerings to God, take interest in the estates of the dead. Plough not the land of another. Six feet of land given thee by God are better than thirty thousand which thou hast stolen.

Pass not thy day in beer-houses and eating-houses, or thou wilt become a mere mass of food. The beggar in God's hand is better off than the rich man in his palace. Crusts of bread and a loving heart are better than rich food and contention. Hanker not after dainty meats. Mind thy business, and let every man do his when he wishes to do it. Learn to be

content with what thou hast. Treasure obtained by fraud will not stay with thee; thou hast it to-day, to-morrow it has departed. It will either disappear of its own accord, or the earth will swallow it up, or it will waste away, or take wings like the goose and fly away. If thou sailest with a thief thou wilt be left in the river. Get into the habit of praying sincerely to Aten (*i.e.* the solar Disk) as he rises in the sky, saying, "Grant me, I beseech thee, strength and health." He will give thee all that is necessary, and thou shalt be saved from anxiety. Approve what is good; spit upon what is bad. Avoid lying (or, slander). Be kind to the poor. Get thee a seat in the sanctuary. Be strong to do the Will of God. Hide the flight of the runaway slave.

Disregard what thou hearest, whether good or bad; it is not thy business, heed it not. Speak only what is good, what is bad hide in thy belly. Avoid the scandal-monger. His lips are date-syrup, his tongue is a deadly dagger, and a blazing fire is within him. Avoid converse with evil men, for that God hates. Make thy plans wisely. Be dignified. Place thyself for safety in the hand of God. The liar is an abomination to him. Falsify not the registers of land; it is an abomination to God. Support not the liar by word or deed. Undervalue nothing. The approval of men is better than riches. Do right and thou shalt do well for thyself. Cheat not with the scales, and obliterate not the stamps on the weights and measures of capacity. Help the man who stumbles. Covet not gold. Use not a land measure marked with two different

scales of measurement. Indulge not in morning slumber whilst the day breaks majestically in the sky. What can be compared to dawn and daybreak for beauty? To what can the man who knows not the dawn be compared? For whilst God is performing His splendid work that man is wallowing in slothfulness. Say not, "Evil should not be permitted to exist"; there is neither good nor evil in the hand of the God. A man's tongue may be his steersman, but it is Nebertcher (*i.e.* the God of the Universe) who is the Captain. Cause not the giving of a wrong verdict in the Law Courts by hiding the truth. Accept no bribe. Truth is the great support of God (or throne-bearer). Seek not to penetrate the Divine Will, for Destiny and Fate are established.

Waste not the early hours of the day in sleep. Haste not to be rich, but be not slothful in thine own interest. Laugh not at the blind man, and make not a mock of the dwarf. A man mixes the mud and straw for his house, but it is God who is the architect. Give no orders to thy superior. Be courteous to the man thou dislikest. Help the old man who is drunk, and treat him with respect before his family. Follow not the cult of the wine-cup, for it will encourage thine enemies. The love of God is better than the reverence of the nobleman. If thou art asked to help to work the ferry-boat, take a paddle and do so; God will not be offended thereby. If thou hast a ferry-boat on the river, take not the fares of the passengers, but let the ferryman keep them. These Precepts

will please thee and teach thee. They will make the fool wise, and the man who hears them read will assuredly steer his course by them. Steep thyself in them, and set them in thy heart. Learn them well, think about them and understand them. By following them the scribe who would make himself a master of his craft will become a nobleman.

The Tale of the Two Brothers. Anpu, a peasant, lived with his wife on a small farm, and his granary and cattle byres were close to the house; in his work he was assisted by Batau, his younger brother, who was to all intents and purposes his slave. Anpu's wife fell in love with her brother-in-law, and one day when he came back to the farm to fetch a further supply of seed corn for his brother, who was then ploughing in the fields, she stopped him at his work and told him of her admiration of him and her love for him. Batau despised her compliments and refused to carry out the plans she had made, and taking up the measure of grain on his shoulders, fled from the farm, leaving her very angry. She then untied her hair, rent her garments as if she had been engaged in a severe struggle with a man, and threw herself on the ground, pretending that she had been badly beaten, and was suffering greatly. When her husband came back to the farm in the evening he found the house in darkness, and on going inside he saw his wife lying on the floor and having the appearance of having been seriously ill-treated. In answer to his questions she told him that when Batau came to fetch the grain

he endeavoured to force her, and that having beaten her he took the grain and departed. She went on to say that she was afraid he would kill her when he returned in the evening and found that she had told Anpu what he had done. Anpu did not suspect that she herself had torn her garments, and had made herself sick by eating some nauseating substance, but having heard her story he took a large reed-cutting knife and hid himself behind a door in the byre, intending to kill his brother when he should arrive. In due course Batau drove his cattle to the farm, walking behind them and carrying a heavy load of vegetables on his back. When the cattle were entering the byre the foremost ox looked back to Batau and told him that Anpu was standing behind the door with a knife in his hand waiting to kill him; and the other oxen said the same. Batau looked under the door and saw his brother's feet, and believing the words of the oxen, he set down his load of vegetables and fled for his life from the farm. Anpu rushed out and followed him, but Shu, the Sun-god, seeing that he was gaining on Batau, caused a river full of crocodiles to come into being, and Anpu was on one side and Batau on the other. The following morning Batau told Anpu the facts of the case, and as a proof of his words mutilated himself, and leaving the river he departed to the Valley of the Acacia; Anpu, filled with sorrow for his brother and anger with his wife, went home and cut up his wife and threw her limbs to the jackals. Batau passed his time in hunting in the Valley of the

Acacia, and the gods gave him a very beautiful wife, but she was sent for by the king and brought to Egypt, where she became his wife. Subsequently Batau's heart was discovered by Anpu, who was searching for it, and he revivified it, and Batau, having thereby recovered his powers, took the form of a bull, and then, after several transformations, begot a son by his wife, who had become Queen of Egypt, and this son succeeded to the throne. (From the D'Orbiney Papyrus.)

A Legend of Khensu Nefer-hetep. Now behold His Majesty Rameses was, according to his wont, in Mesopotamia, and the chiefs of all the lands there came to pay homage to him, and to entreat his good-will and favour. And the people of the countries brought to him offerings of gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every kind of thing which the hand of God produces, on their backs, and every chief sought to outdo his neighbour. When the Prince of Bekhten brought his gift and tribute, he set his eldest daughter in front of it as a proof of his reverence for His Majesty and to gain his favour. Now the maiden was beautiful, and His Majesty thought her the most beautiful girl he had ever seen, and straightway he bestowed on her the title of "King's Woman, lady in chief," and called her "Neferu-Rā" (*i.e.* the Beauties of Rā). And when he came to Egypt she became the "King's Woman" in very truth.

When the king was in Thebes, in the temple of the Southern Apt (*i.e.* Luxor), on the 22nd day of the second month of Shemut (August or

September), in the 15th year of his reign, it was reported to him that an envoy had arrived from Bekhten with many gifts for the King's Woman. And when he had been brought before His Majesty with his gifts, he said: "Praise and glory be to thee, O Sun of the World; let us live before thee." And prostrating himself, with his head on the ground, he said: "O Sovereign Lord, I come to thee on behalf of the lady Bent-Resht, the young sister of Neferu-Rā, the King's Woman. An evil disease has laid hold on her body, and I beseech thee to send a physician to see her." His Majesty said: "Let the sages and their books be brought to me"; and when they came he said: "Select for me from among your company a man who is wise of heart and cunning with his hands." [They did so] and when the royal scribe Tehuti-em-heb came, His Majesty ordered him to set out with the envoy and go to Bekhten. When the wise man arrived in Bekhten he found that Princess Bent-Resht was possessed of a devil, against whose power he could do nothing.

Then the Prince of Bekhten sent his envoy a second time to His Majesty, saying: "I beseech thee to command that a god be brought [here]." Then the king went into the temple of Khensu Nefer-hetep in Thebes, and said: "O my fair Lord, once again I come to thee on behalf of the daughter of the Prince of Bekhten." Then the god was brought into the temple of Khensu, and in the presence of Khensu Nefer-hetep the king said: "O my fair Lord, turn thy face upon Khensu, and grant that he may go to Bekhten.

And let thy saving power go with him to deliver the Princess of that land from the power of the devil that possesseth her." And Khensu Neferhetep granted the king's request, and he bestowed his saving power upon Khensu. Then His Majesty sent Khensu in his boat, and five other boats, and chariots and horses, and the god arrived in Bekhten after a journey of seventeen months, and was welcomed with great joy by the Prince. When Khensu came to the place where the Princess was, he worked upon her with the magical fluid of life (, *sa*) and she was healed straightway. And the devil who had possessed her cried out, "Welcome, indeed, is thy coming to us, O great god, conqueror of the hosts of darkness! Bekhten is thy city, its people are thy slaves, and I am thy servant. I will depart unto the place whence I came to gratify thee, as for this purpose thou hast come. But [before I go] I beseech thee to command that a festival be made at which the Prince of Bekhten and I may rejoice together." And Khensu assented to this request and ordered his priest to tell the Prince of Bekhten to make a festival in honour of the devil. And the Prince of Bekhten made a feast in honour of Khensu and the devil, and they all passed a happy day together, and then the devil departed to the place which he loved.

Then the Prince of Bekhten determined to keep Khensu in his country, and refused to allow him to return to Egypt; and the god remained there for 3 years, 4 months, and 5 days. And one day

the Prince, whilst lying on his bed, saw in a vision Khensu come forth from his shrine in the form of a hawk with feathers of gold, and he flew up into the air and departed to Egypt. The Prince awoke in terror, and when he spoke to the priest of Khensu, he replied, saying: "The god hath left us and departed to Egypt. We must now send back his chariot to Egypt." Then the Prince gave the command, and the [statue of the] god set out for Egypt, with multitudes of gifts, accompanied by a host of soldiers and horses.

The following account of the hunting of wild cattle by Amenhetep III is taken from the great scarab, the base of which is reproduced on Plate VIII. (**1**) In the second year of the reign of His Majesty, (**2**) the Living Horus, the mighty Bull, diademed with Maāt (*i.e.* Truth), the Stablisher of Laws, (**3**) the Pacifier of the Two Lands (*i.e.* Upper and Lower Egypt), Mighty one in arm (or, thigh), Smiter of the Nomads, the Lord of the Two Lands, (Neb-maāt-Rā), (**4**) the son of Rā, (Amenhetep, Governor of Thebes), giver of life (the King's Woman, the Great One, [being] (Tī), living one like Rā), a marvellous thing took place (**5**) through His Majesty. One came bringing a report to His Majesty, saying: "The wild cattle are in the hilly ground (**6**) of the district of Shetep." His Majesty set out by boat and sailed down the river in the royal barge called "Khā-em-Maāt" (**7**) during the night. And having made a successful journey he arrived safely in the

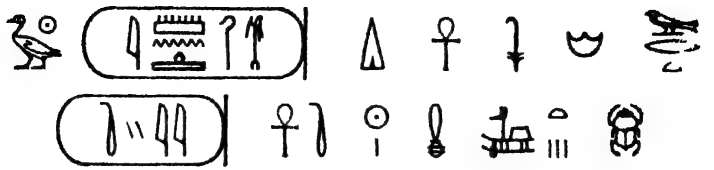
district of Shetep (**8**) early the following morning. His Majesty mounted his horse and rode off with all his bowmen following him, and the head men, and all the captains of the bowmen, (**9**) were commanded to keep a strict watch on the wild cattle, and all the children (**10**) of the neighbourhood to do the same. And His Majesty gave orders for all the wild cattle (**11**) to be driven into a stockaded enclosure with a ditch (?) round about it. (**12**) His Majesty commanded a counting of all the wild cattle to be made, and their total number was 170. (**13**) The number of the wild cattle which His Majesty hunted and slew on this day was 56 head. His Majesty remained idle for four days (**14**) in order to allow his horses to recover their fieryness. Then His Majesty mounted a horse, and (**15**) the number of wild cattle which he hunted and slew was 40 head. (**16**) The total number of the wild cattle [slain by him] was 96 head.

The following transcript of the text will help the reader to decipher the text on the Plate.

[1] Lord of the Vulture, Lord of the Uraeus.

[2] Horus of gold (?).

[3] Man of the reed, man of the bee (or, hornet), *i.e.* King of the South and North.

4. 

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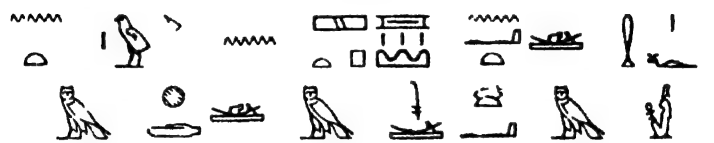
6. 

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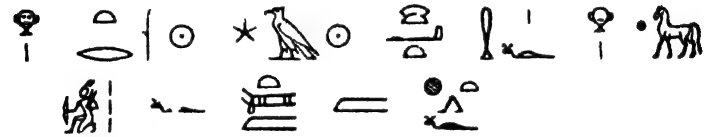
8. 

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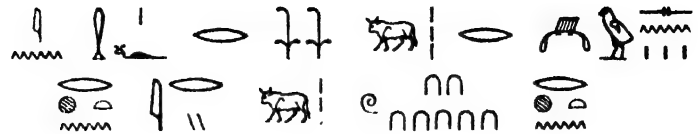
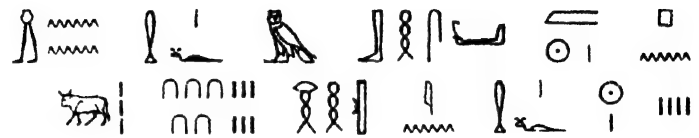
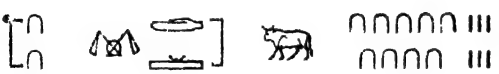
12. 

13. 

14.

15.

16. 

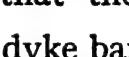
CHAPTER X

THE EGYPTIAN DEAD. HEAVEN AND HELL. THE FUTURE LIFE

THE Egyptians of the Neolithic Period believed that their existence would not come to an end with the death of their bodies, and they appear to have thought that the renewed life which they would live in some unknown region would closely resemble that which they were accustomed to lead in this world. This is proved by the fact that in the oldest known predynastic graves pots containing food, flint weapons for war and the chase, flint tools, etc. have been found in considerable numbers. The belief in **immortality** which is attested by these objects never diminished, but, on the contrary, developed and increased throughout the whole period of dynastic history. The Neolithic Egyptians who could afford to bury their dead and did not cast their bodies out

into the desert for wild beasts to devour, dug oval shallow graves for them on the edges of the desert. The cultivable land was then, as it has been in all periods, far too valuable to devote to the dead. The body was buried in the bent, or pre-natal, position, and was wrapped sometimes in a reed mat and sometimes in the skin of some animal, perhaps a gazelle, and the grave was covered over more or less carefully. The dryness of the soil and the absence of wind enabled the body to retain its form as it gradually dried. In some graves the unfleshed bones of the skeleton are found, but by what means they were unfleshed is unknown. Many modern African peoples take their dead out into the forests and, when the ants have cleaned the bones, collect them and bury them or otherwise preserve them. Other graves were covered over with large earthenware pots, and later still bodies were laid in boxes of various shapes, which were the prototypes of the coffin.

The predynastic Egyptians made no attempt to mummify their dead; there was no necessity for them to do so, for the dryness of the soil preserved the body sufficiently for their purpose. Under the early dynasties parts or the whole of the dead body were wrapped in linen cloth, and before the end of the Old Kingdom attempts were made to preserve it with natron or by covering it with plaster of some kind. The burial of bodies in the pre-natal position was common under the first three or four dynasties, and then the custom arose of burying them lying on their backs and stretched out at full length in their

coffins. This was probably due to the development of the cult of Osiris, the priests of which preached the resurrection of the body with all its powers and members complete. They proclaimed that the body of Osiris, who was slain on the dyke bank at Netåt,  , near Abydos, had been reconstituted, and made incorruptible and immortal. By treating the dead body of a man as that of Osiris had been treated by Anpu (Anubis), the divine physician and embalmer, and reciting the same spells of Thoth that Isis had uttered, the priests proclaimed their power to enable it to rise from the dead and become immortal. The art of mummification reached its highest pitch of development under the XVIIIth Dynasty, and although from about 1300 B.C. it steadily declined, mummification was practised in Egypt until the IVth or Vth century of our Era.

The religious texts show that many different views were current about the **resurrection of the body.** The material body was called *khat*, , a word meaning "something that decays," "corruption," etc., and Osiris had a material body of this kind. One view was that the very substance of this corruptible body was **re-made and re-born** by means of mummification, and by the magical and religious spells that were recited by properly qualified priests whilst the various processes were being carried out, and that the body of every man who appeared before Osiris was the actual body in

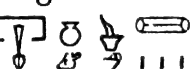
which he had lived upon earth. Another view was that the mummification and spells made to spring from the natural body **another body** which was identical with it in shape and form, but was so immaterial in character that it might be called a "spirit body." This body was called **Sāh,** , and many passages in the Pyramid Texts prove that it lived in heaven with the gods, and that the soul dwelt in it. We read less about it in the texts of the New Kingdom, and their general evidence suggests that the later Egyptians preferred to believe in the resurrection of the man's natural body.

When a man was born there was born with him the **Ka,** , a word very difficult to render by any one word. It is usually translated by "double," but at times it seems to mean character, disposition, individuality, mind, personality, etc. It was ever present with a man during life, and after death it dwelt in the tomb with his body. It needed food and drink, it delighted in the smell of the meat offerings and the perfume of flowers, and in all periods men prayed to Osiris and the gods of his Company to give an abundant supply of offerings for the benefit of their Kas. The Ka had its chapel, , and there existed a body of priests called "ministers of the Ka," . In many a tomb of the Old Kingdom is found a painted stone portrait figure of the deceased seated or standing in a specially prepared walled-off

chamber, with an opening in one of the walls, through which it might see the offerings and enjoy the smell of them. This has often been called the " Ka statue," but there is a possibility that it had nothing to do with the Ka, and that it was only regarded as a memorial statue.

Horus presenting Amenhetep III, when a babe and his Ka to the god Amen-Rā, who acknowledges the child to be his son and blesses him

Other nations have set up such statues or effigies of the dead *over* their tombs, but the Egyptians set their statues *inside* the tombs of their beloved ones. Pictures of offerings of food, drink, flowers, etc., were often painted on the inside of coffins and on the walls of tombs with a very definite object, viz. as a means of supplying the Ka with nourishment. Circumstances might

arise when it would be impossible to continue to supply material offerings to the Ka. In such a case the Ka would be expected to recite the spell, "I am master of my heart, and my breast (?), and my hands, and my feet, and my mouth, and all my members, and my funerary offerings" (Book of the Dead, Chap. lxviii). The words here rendered "funerary offerings" are PERT ER KHERU, , or  , and their literal meaning is "offerings of bread, meat, geese, incense, wine, that appear at the word"; and when these words were pronounced either by the Ka or his kinsfolk offerings straightway appeared.

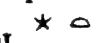
We have seen above that the heart of the deceased was weighed in the Great Scales, and that his soul stood by and testified on its behalf. The **Soul,** BA, , is often depicted in the form of a man-headed hawk, . When a man died it left him and went to heaven, where it lived with the gods and with the souls of the righteous, but it was believed to descend from time to time to visit the body in which it formerly dwelt, and a passage was always prepared

The soul of the scribe Nebsem visiting its mummified body in the tomb

through which it might enter the mummy-chamber. The conception concerning the Ba associated it with the heart, and for this reason it has been called the "Heart-soul" to distinguish it from the AAKHU, , or **Spirit,** or "Spirit-soul," the exact functions of which are not known. The **name,** , *ren,* and **shadow,** , *khaibit,* also formed important elements of a man, and each accompanied him after his resurrection into heaven.

According to one view the souls of the blessed dwelt with the gods in a **heaven** situated above the sky. The floor of this heaven formed the sky, which was rectangular in shape and was supported by four pillars, , the "four pillars of Shu," one at each corner. Each pillar was kept in its place by one of the Four Sons of Horus, whose names were Amset, Hāpi, Tuamutef and Qebhsenuf. Other views represented the sky in the form of a woman with bowed body, whose hands and feet touch the earth, , and in the form of a cow, the four legs of which formed the four pillars of the sky. The souls that wished to ascend to the floor of heaven were obliged to use a **ladder,** and in the Papyrus of Ani this ladder is depicted. Osiris himself had recourse to a ladder, , and Set and Horus stood by and held it firmly whilst the god ascended it. An ancient tradition states that

souls set out on their journey to heaven through the gap in the mountains at Abydos, called **Pega,** . Near this gap was the famous **well** into which offerings to the dead were put. It was connected by means of a subterranean passage with the kingdom of Osiris, and offerings made by the faithful were transported through it to their kinsfolk in the Other World According to the Book of Gates the Judgment Hall of Osiris was situated at Abydos, and the judgment of the dead took place here daily at midnight

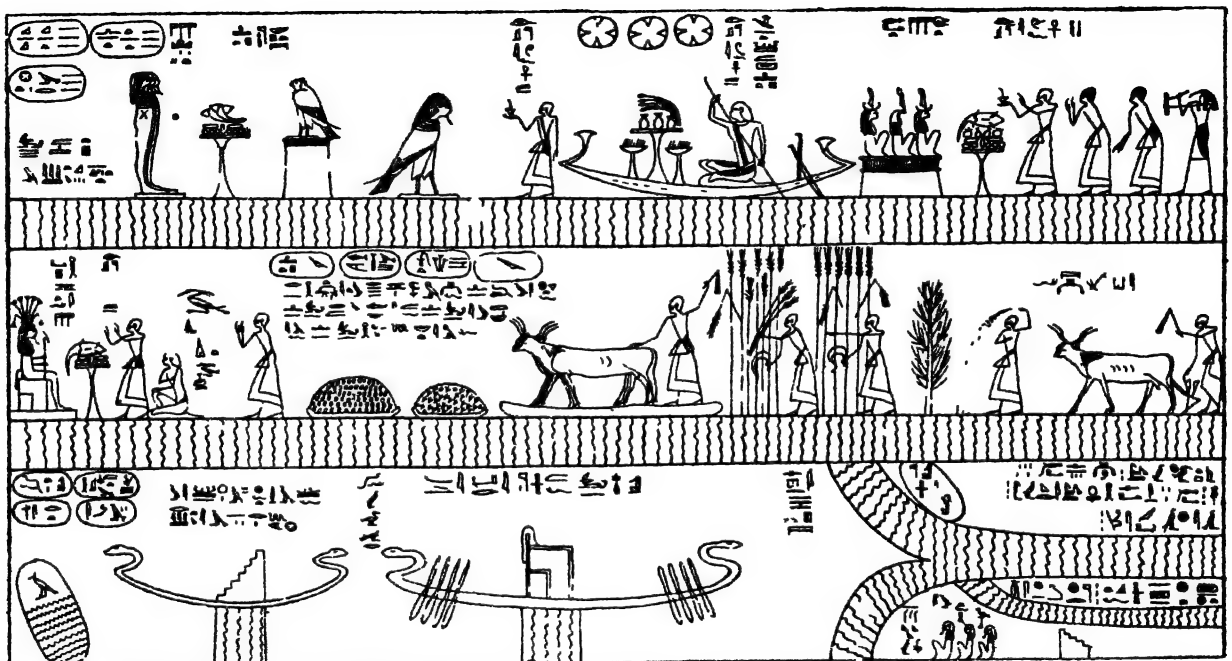
The oldest name for the place of departed spirits is **Tuat,** , or  , the meaning of which is unknown. According to some texts it was situated under the earth, and contained the kingdom of Osiris, a region where the gods of the dead lived, and a series of the Underworlds of great towns and cities like Memphis, Heliopolis, Sais, Herakleopolis To reach the kingdom of Osiris the deceased had to cross a great river, the waters of which, when drunk by the righteous, were cool and sweet, but when drunk by the wicked were boiling hot and bitter. Osiris kept a ferryman called **Herfhaf,** , a god whose "face was [turned] behind him," and who, therefore, had eyes in the back of his head, so to speak. If this being and his magical boat were satisfied that the souls that came to him to be ferried across were right and true, he would transport them to the land of Osiris; if they were not,

the ferryman and boat refused to take them. The ferryman's head was turned behind him so that he would be able to see any souls that tried to board his boat as he was pushing off, and could thrust them away. Once across the river the soul had to pass through the **Seven Ārits,** or great gates, each of which admitted it to a large Hall and was guarded by three gods—the Gatekeeper, the Announcer and the Watcher. The arrival of every soul was announced to Osiris, and without his permission no soul was admitted. It is uncertain whether these Halls were all on the same level or whether they were placed one above the other. Some papyri mention Twenty-one Gates, in which case each hall would have three gates, and some give the number as ten or twelve. The whole question is difficult, and the Egyptians themselves were as much puzzled by it as we are. In every case each Gate was guarded by three gods of terrifying forms and aspects. Besides these Gates and Halls there were **Twelve Circles,** , four of which are described in a papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10478), but where and how they were situated cannot be said. Dante probably derived his idea of the Circles from Egyptian tradition.

Different views about the situation of the kingdom of Osiris also existed. According to the Vignettes on the sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom, Osiris dwelt on an island surrounded by several islets, but the papyri of the New Kingdom show that the beatified lived in a place

intersected by canals, and that they ploughed and harrowed the ground between them, and sowed grain, and reaped their harvests and threshed wheat and barley there. The wheat was 8 feet high, the ears were 3 feet long, and the stalks 5 feet; the barley was about 12 feet high, the ears were 5 feet long, and the stalks 7 feet long. The spirits who reaped the crops were 15 feet high. Several boats, which were self-propelled, were moored to steps, and in these the beatified sailed about at will.

The Book of Gates shows that the Tuat was a circular valley formed by the body of Osiris himself, and that it was on the plane of the land of Egypt or of the sky. The Sun-god traverses the valley each night, and sails over the whole length of the river in it in his boat with his gods. As he advances he gives light and air to the dead who are in the various sections of the Tuat; the righteous are on the right bank of the river and the sinners on the left. As he passes along he rewards the righteous with celestial food and drink, and the wicked are punished and condemned by him to utter destruction. In the Fifth Division of the Tuat we find the souls of foreigners—the Libyans, the Asiatics and the Negroes—each nation being separated from the Egyptians. In the Sixth Division is the Judgment Hall of Osiris. The god sits on a chair of state placed on a throne with nine steps, and at midnight he judges all the souls who have come there during the day. To the righteous he awards estates in Sekhet-Aaru, and the wicked he hands over to



The Sekhet Aaru or Field of Reeds, where the blessed dead lived.

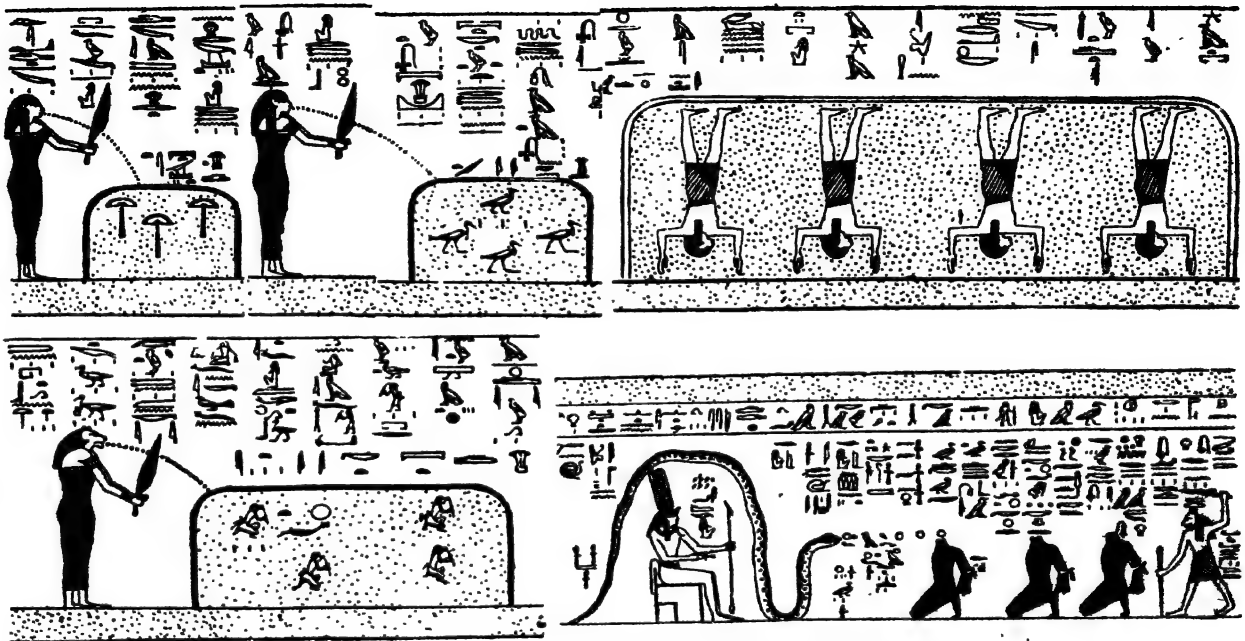
1. The deceased adoring the gods, paddling a boat and escorting a divine soul in Sekhet hetep.
2. The deceased sowing, reaping, threshing the grain, and adoring the Nile god
3. The magical boats of Ra, and Un Nefer, which move themselves, and the abode of the gods and perfect souls who reap the celestial crops.

his headsman Shesmu, who hacks their bodies in pieces, which fall down into a pit of fire, where they are consumed.

The righteous have the choice of two heavens in which to live, viz the Sekhet-Aaru of Osiris and the Boat of the Sun-god Rā. The followers of Osiris, *i.e.* the greater number of the Egyptians, preferred his Elysian Fields, where they could enjoy spiritualized pleasures and an existence that closely resembled their life upon earth. Those who chose the Boat of Rā sailed with him over the skies, they fed upon light, and were arrayed in light, and were finally absorbed into the light of the god himself. On the other hand, the Osirians assisted Osiris in cultivating the plant of Truth, Maāt, which was of the substance of Osiris himself, and as they lived upon Maāt, they finally became absorbed into Osiris and lived by and in him for ever. The Boat of Rā passed on, and the ministers of the god gathered together his enemies in a place at the eastern end, or side, of the Tuat, where they were to be destroyed in the fire-pits prepared for them. When Rā arrived, he passed sentence of death on them, and they were thrust head downwards into pits full of red-hot sand forthwith. The pits were fed with a constant supply of fire which the goddesses of destruction vomited continually into them, and the bodies, souls, and shadows of the enemies of Rā were utterly consumed in the sight of those beatified souls that had chosen his boat as their heaven. Some have adduced the Vignettes of the Book of Gates as

Detail of the outer coffin of Nesmut-Mut in the Egyptian Museum. The wall of the tomb was painted to look like a structure with a door to the Other World.

Detail of the outer coffin of Nesmut-Mut in the Egyptian Museum. The wall of the tomb was painted to look like a structure with a door to the Other World.



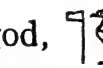
The annihilation of the damned in the Tuat (Underworld).

1. The shadows, , and souls, , of the wicked being burned in pits of fire.
2. The wicked, head downwards, being burned in a pit of fire.
3. The enemies, , of Osiris being burned in a pit of fire.
4. Osiris seated under a canopy formed by a serpent which spits fire on to the decapitated bodies of the damned and consumes them. (From the Book of Gates.)

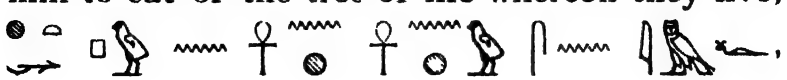
proofs that the Egyptians believed in **purgatory,** thinking that the bodies and souls and shadows in the fire-pits represented those of human beings. But this is not the case, for the enemies of Rā were the devils and fiends of mist, cloud, darkness and rain, that tried to prevent the sun from rising in the sky, and the fate of these, as also of the enemies of Osiris, was **annihilation.**

Under the Old Kingdom heaven was reserved for kings alone, and the texts on the pyramids of the Vth and VIth Dynasties show us how kings were received by the gods, and what they did in heaven. When Unas arrived in the Other World, heaven dropped water-floods, the stars quaked, the bow-bearers ran about in terror, the bones of the god Aker trembled, and all the beings there fled when they saw him rising up as a Soul, and as a god who lived upon his fathers and mothers. Unas hunted the gods, Herthertu lassoed them, Khensu cut their throats and took out their intestines, Shesmu cut them up and cooked them in his fiery cauldrons, Unas ate them, and so absorbed their spirits and vital powers. The largest and finest of the gods he ate at daybreak, the smaller ones he ate for his evening meal, and the smallest he ate during the night; the old and worn-out gods he rejected entirely and used their bodies as fuel for his furnace. The cauldrons containing the thighs of the gods and goddesses were heated by gods who projected fire from their bodies into the cauldrons beneath them. In his hunting expeditions Unas journeyed over every part of the day sky and the night sky. The strength he

derived from eating the gods enabled him to become the chief of the oldest gods of heaven, and the equal of the giant of Orion. His power and his will were absolute, for the spirits and souls of the gods were in him, and he had absorbed the wisdom of them all, and the property of everlasting life which especially belonged to them. Thus he possessed the power to live longer than any god, and to live as long as the heavens endured. If the description of the life led by Unas in heaven is to be believed we must conclude that when upon earth he lived the life of a savage African cannibal, whose chief delights and occupations were fighting and the carrying off of men's wives.

The later texts of the pyramids supply many interesting details concerning the existence of the beatified in heaven. The early conception of heaven was at once material and spiritual, and it never disappeared from the mind of the Egyptian. The body of the king in heaven was the body of the god, and his flesh and bones were those of the god. He walks among the "Living Ones," , and he becomes a god, the son of a god,  Each of his features—eyes, nose, mouth, cheeks, etc.—is the feature of a god, the gods elect him to be a member of their Company, and the other two Companies invite him to take his seat among them. He becomes not only Horus, the son of Osiris, but Osiris himself. He is the brother of the

moon, the son of Sothis (Sirius), and he strides over the heavens like Orion. The gods bow their heads to the ground before him, and he rules them all. Rā will not allow him to walk, but lifts him up on his shoulders and carries him about from place to place. He absorbs the power and wisdom of Thoth, who was the mind of Rā and the Advocate who obtained the verdict " Innocent " for Osiris at the Great Trial, and so becomes the Judge of the Dead. Side by side with the god he sits on a great throne made of translucent material, which is decorated with the heads of lions and has feet in the form of the hooves of bulls. He is arrayed in glorious apparel of the finest texture, similar to that worn by those who sit on the Throne of Living Truth. On his head he wears the greatest of all crowns, which the god set upon his head. He does not hunger, or thirst, or feel sadness. He eats the bread that Rā eats daily, and he drinks what Rā drinks; his provisions are those that are decreed by Geb and by the utterances of the gods. He eats what the gods eat, he drinks what they drink, he dwells as they dwell, and all the gods give him food that he may not die. He dresses as the gods dress, and his garments are made of fine, white linen; his feet are shod with sandals. He goes with the gods to the Great Lake in Sekhet-Hetep, round which the gods seat themselves, and the great and imperishable gods give him to eat of the tree of life whereon they live,



so that he likewise may live. The bread that he eats never grows stale, for it is the "Bread of Eternity"; his beer never goes sour, for it is the "Beer of Everlastingness." He is delivered from the power of those who would steal his food. He is washed clean, and his *ka* is washed clean, and they eat bread together. He goes round about heaven, even as do the Four Sons of Horus, and he partakes of their figs and wine. He dwells without fear under the protection of the gods, from whose loins he came forth, and those who would be his foes find that they are enemies of Temu. The boatmen who row Rā row him also, and those who row Rā beneath the horizon row him also. He entered heaven in the west of the sky, and he comes forth from the east thereof.

The position of the king in the primitive Egyptian **heaven of Rā** is well described in the following address: "Now therefore, O Pepi, he that hath given unto thee life and all power and eternity and the power of speech is **Rā**. Thou hast endued thyself with the forms of the god, and thou hast become magnified thereby before the gods who dwell on the Lake. Hail, Pepi, thy soul standeth among the gods, and among the shining ones, and the fear of thee striketh into their hearts. Hail, Pepi, thou placest thyself upon the throne of Him that dwelleth among the Living Ones, and the writing which thou hast is in their hearts. Thy name shall live upon the earth, thy name shall flourish upon the earth, thou

shalt neither perish nor be destroyed for ever and ever."

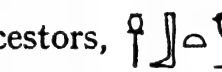
The king's position in the **Kingdom of Osiris** is thus described:—

"Hail, Pepi, thou hast arrived, thou art glorious, and thou hast gotten might like the god who is seated upon his throne, that is, **Osiris.** Thy soul is in thy body, thy strong form is behind thee, thy crown is upon thy head, thy head-dress is upon thy shoulders, thy face is before thee. Those who sing songs of joy are upon both sides of thee, the followers of the god are behind thee, and those who accompany him are on both sides of thee. The god cometh: Pepi hath come upon the throne of Osiris. The glorious dweller in Netat (*i.e.* Osiris), the divine dweller in Teni (This–Abydos), hath arrived. Isis speaketh to thee, Nephthys holdeth converse with thee, and the Spirits come and bow down at thy feet by reason of the writing (or, book) which thou hast, O Pepi, in the region of Saa. Thou comest to thy mother Nut, who strengtheneth thy arm and maketh a way for thee through the sky to the place where Rā is. Thou hast opened the gates of the sky and the doors of the celestial ocean. Thou didst find Rā, who protected thee, and took thee by thy hand, and brought thee into the two heavens, and set thee upon the throne of Osiris. Hail, Pepi, for the Eye of Horus hath come to hold converse with thee. As a son fighteth for his father, and as Horus defended his father, even so hath Horus defended Pepi against his enemies. And thou art defended and endowed in every

way like a god, and thou standest equipped with all the attributes of Osiris upon the throne of Khenti Amenti."

The heaven of Rā, though representing ancient solar beliefs, did not appeal to the Egyptians generally, for it was too exclusive, and its god was too great and too remote ever to become an object of willing and affectionate worship. The king, being part god, would naturally find happiness there with his fellow-gods, but it offered no attractions to the slave, the peasant, and the lower classes of the population in cities and towns. The cult of Rā was essentially the cult of the court and noblemen, and the democratic instinct of the Egyptian, which always was and still is extremely sensitive, revolted against all aristocratic authority in religion. The Egyptians, as a nation, loved to worship Osiris, the man who had been persecuted and slain by his enemies, and had risen from the dead, having triumphed over the power of Death and the grave, and become the god and Judge of the dead. They felt that Osiris the man would understand men, and sympathize with them in their sorrows and troubles, and the people, as a whole, placed their hopes of immortality in Osiris, "who made men and women to be born again," (Book of the Dead, Chap. clxxxii, 16). In the heaven of Osiris they hoped to live a life which was to all intents and purposes a glorified duplicate of that which they led upon earth. There they expected to find their kinsfolk and

friends and to know them and be known by them; **reunion and recognition** with them in the Other World were necessities to them.

Their wishes in this respect are well expressed in a text written on a coffin in Cairo. The deceased Sepa prays, saying: "Hail, Rā! Hail, Tem! Hail, Geb! Hail, Nut! Grant ye to Sepa that he may travel over the heavens, and over the earth and over the waters, that he may meet his ancestors,  , may meet his father, may meet his mother, may meet his grown-up sons and daughters, and his brothers and his sisters, may meet his friends, both male and female, may meet his foster-parents, and his kinsfolk, and those who have done work for him upon earth, both male and female, and may meet the woman whom he loved and knew." Sepa goes on to say that if for any reason his father, or his mother, or his ancestors, or his children, brothers and sisters and kinsfolk and friends be prevented from having reunion with him, no more offerings shall be made to Rā; but if they be allowed to come to him and be with him as they were upon earth, whether it be in heaven, or on the earth, or in the Tuat, or in the Nile, or in Busiris, or Abydos, or elsewhere, the usual offerings shall be made to Rā, and the circumpolar stars and the planets shall tow the Boat of Rā over the sky as usual. The text ends with an assurance from the goddess Hathor that Sepa may enter the Other World with confidence, knowing that his ancestors will come to meet

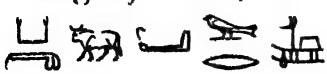
him, that they will rejoice in seeing him, and that they will bear in their hands staves and mattocks and ploughs and weapons, and be ready to deliver him from the attacks of any malevolent god.

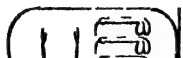
The prayer of Sepa given above was in one form or another prayed by every follower of Osiris during the whole course of dynastic history.

XI — THE BULL

(*Note to p. 115.*)

The cult of the Bull Apis and of the Bull Mnevis was established officially at Memphis and Heliopolis respectively under the IInd Dynasty, but the worship of these sacred beasts in Egypt generally and in Nubia was common many centuries, perhaps even thousands of years, earlier. Another sacred Bull called Bakha was worshipped at Kakam, *i.e.* the town of the Black Bull, at a very early period. Many of the kings of Egypt delighted to call themselves "Mighty Bull," *Ka nekht*, [hieroglyphs], and the Bull appears frequently in the Horus names of many of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Amenhetep I called himself the "conquering Bull," Thothmes I claimed to be the "Mighty Bull, whose marvels were great," [hieroglyphs], Thothmes II proclaimed



himself to be the "Mighty Bull, pre-eminent in valour," , and in remote times a king of the IInd Dynasty called himself "Bull of Bulls,"  . The title "Bull" was applied also to the gods, and Osiris is often addressed as "Bull of Amentt" . Many historical texts mention the "bellowings," , of the king, and the "bellowings" of Thothmes III resounded to the uttermost parts of the earth and made the people there quake. In the Kubbân Stele Rameses II, the Mighty Bull, is said to "have trampled down the Nubians under his hoofs, and to have gored them with his horns." The Mighty Bull was "ready for action," , and his "horns were always ready" to gore, ; these last words became a title of Alexander the Great, which the Arabs have prescribed in Dhu l-Karnēn. The skin of the bull played an important part in ancient Egyptian religious ceremonies, and the Masai and many other African peoples bury their dead kings wrapped up in the skins of bulls. The following hymn to the King of Timbuctoo is by His Majesty's Poet Laureate (see *New Monthly Magazine* for 1824).

Hoo ! Tamarama bow —now !
Slamarambo-pig !
Hurrah ! for the son of the Sun !
Hurrah ! for the brother of the Moon !
Throughout all the world there is none
Like Quashiboo, the only One.
Descended from the great Baboon, Baboon,
Descended from the Great Baboon !
Buffalo of Buffaloes, Bull of Bulls,
He sits on a throne of his enemies' skulls.
And if he wants others to play at foot ball,
Ours are at his service— all ! all ! all !
Hugaboo-jah ! Hugaboo-jah !
Hail to the Royal Quashiboo,
Emperor and Lord of Timbuctoo !

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